Drop-out from Primary Schools in Tribal India: A Case Study of the Ho in Parampancho, West Singhbhum

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the problem of drop-out from primary schools among Ho tribal children in the village of Parampancho,West Singhbhum, India. The tribal people are distinct cultural groups, legally categorized as the Scheduled Tribes. Drop-out rates from primary schools are higher for tribal children than for children from most other social and economic groups in India. The thesis examines the question 'why some tribal children drop-out from primary school, while others stay on to complete the course.'

The thesis employs the concept of *POLARITY* between the home and the school to analyze the problem of drop-out. The sub-culture of learning and teaching in the school differs from that in the home. Although this gap exists in most cultures, the difference is very large in communities where modern schooling is of recent origin and has not developed from indigenous learning systems. The concept of polarity between the home and the school is applicable to the Indian tribal communities when seen in terms of two contexts, the historical and the cultural. The problem of a very high incidence of drop-out from primary school among tribal children in India is an outcome of such home and school polarity.

A qualitative case study approach has been employed in this research to study the problem holistically within a village as a single social unit. A school drop-out survey was conducted among households to ascertain the nature and extent of drop-out from primary school. Subsequently, twenty Ho children were selected in terms of schooling profile (drop-outs and stay-ins) and household occupation (tusar farming and non-tusar farming) for an intensive study. The three broad research questions were: a) what is the nature and extent of drop-out in the village primary school; b) what are the perceived similarities and differences between the primary school and the domestic households in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium and c) do the perceived differences between the primary school and the home explain individual differences in drop-out?

The polarity between home and school in the village has been examined by comparing and contrasting the two learning and teaching situations: domestic learning and teaching of Ho tribal knowledge and skills with special reference to silkworms (tusar) rearing, and school learning and teaching of 'Social Studies'. The analysis shows that polarity exists between the primary school and the Ho home in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium but the perception of the polarity varied from child to child and from parent to parent. The drop-out children and their parents perceived the polarity to a greater extent and experienced learning difficulties of a higher degree than the children who stayed in the school.

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Table of Contents

Lists of
Maps, Figures, Tables and Plates

Page

Maps

Figures

Tables

Plates

ABBREVIATION

AEPM	=	Academy of Educational Planning and Management
COHQC	=	Content Home Question Children
COHQF	=	Content Home Question Fathers
COHQM	=	Content Home Question Mothers
COSQC	=	Content School Question Children
COSQF	=	Content School Question Fathers
COSQM	=	Content School Question Mothers
D.F.O	=	District Forest Office
DO	=	Drop-out
D.S.E.	=	District Superintendent of Education
D.S.O	=	District Statistical Office
GOI	=	Government of India
LMHQC	=	Language Medium Home Question Children
LMHQF	=	Language Medium Home Question Fathers
LMHQM	=	Language Medium Home Question Mothers
LMSQC	=	Language Medium School Question Children
LMSQF	=	Language Medium School Question Fathers
LMSQM	=	Language Medium School Question Mothers
MEHQC	=	Method Home Question Children
MEHQF	=	Method Home Question Fathers
MEHQM	=	Method Home Question Mothers
MESQC	=	Method School Question Children
MESQF	=	Method School Question Fathers
MESQM	=	Method School Question Mothers
MHRD	=	Ministry of Human Resources Development
MLL	=	Minimum Level of Learning
MOHQC	=	Motivation Home Question Children
MOHQF	=	Motivation Home Question Fathers
MOHQM	=	Motivation Home Question Mothers
MOSQC	=	Motivation School Question Children
MOSQF	=	Motivation School Question Fathers
MOSQM	=	Motivation School Question Mothers
NCERT	=	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NEP	=	New Education Policy
NIEPA	=	National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration
NTF	=	Non-Tusar Farming
ONPEC	=	Office of the National Primary Education Commission
POA	=	Programme of Action
PPS	=	Parampancho Primary School
SC	=	Scheduled Castes
SI	=	Stay-in
ST	=	Scheduled Tribes
TF	=	Tusar Farming

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In this thesis, all the indigenous terms have been italicized. A simplified version of transliteration of the Ho and the Hindi words into the Roman scripts has been used. The symbol ':' has been used for checked (glottalized) vowels. (For example, the Ho word *ka:* means crow.)

Introduction

Since my early school days, I have seen several of my friends leaving educational institutions prematurely. The experience is so common among Indian people that government statistical information is hardly needed to describe the problem. Drop-out from academic courses is commonplace in India. But the drop-out rate at the primary level of schooling is alarming and intense among socially and culturally disadvantaged groups such as the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (see Chapter 1). This research singles out the problem of dropping out from primary schools in tribal India. Some of the primary considerations of the current research are as follows,

a) drop-out is higher among socially and culturally disadvantaged groups in comparison to other groups in India (see Chapter 1);

b) modern schools represent the 'dominant culture' introduced by the colonial administration and preserved by the post-colonial nationalist governments (see Chapters 1 and 2);

c) culturally disadvantaged children experience the greatest degree of culture clash at the level of primary schooling (Chapters 2 and 8); and

d) some of the problems afflicting modern formal education in India, such as, non-enrolment, low literacy and drop-out are products of the culture clash or the polarity between the home culture and the school culture (see Chapters 8 and 9).

f) the perception of polarity is a matter of degree, so is the effect of the polarity on children's individual conditions of dropping out and staying in the school. Children with a strong perception of the polarity are more likely to drop-out than children whose perception of the polarity is weak (see Chapters

3 and 9).

The key research question is "why do some tribal children drop-out from primary school, while others stay on to complete the course?"

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 1 addresses the problem of drop-outs from primary schools in tribal India. First of all it clarifies the meaning and measurement of 'drop-out'. Secondly it introduces the drop-out problem in the global context to point out the nature and extent of the problem in developing countries. Thirdly it locates the problem in the Indian tribal context and highlights the special case which drop-out from primary schools in tribal India presents and thereby needs to be investigated separately from other social groups.

Chapter 2 provides a conceptual framework of polarity between the home and the school to investigate the problem. It looks into the philosophical roots of the meaning and use of the word 'polarity' and reviews various literatures on the particular case of home and school polarity. The chapter further considers the suitability of the concept in investigating the problem of drop-out. It points out four main dimensions of polarity, that is, content, motivation, method and language medium in tribal India. Finally the chapter shows the links between the drop-out problem and the polarity and synthesizes the key proposition of the thesis that "drop-out is a product of polarity".

Chapter 3 discusses the research questions and methods. It explains and justifies the qualitative approach to data collection and data analysis used in the research. The chapter elaborates the broad research questions and discusses the specific tools of data collection used in the field. It describes the sample children selected for the intensive study and describes the process of data analysis involved in this research.

Chapter 4 is an ethnographic description of the village chosen for the research. It describes Parampancho village life in terms of geographical setting, demographic

composition, historical background, economy, social structure, linguistic affinity, village administration and politics and religion. The ethnographic description establishes that Parampancho is a 'tribal village in transition'.

Chapter 5 describes the Parampancho Primary School situated in the village and the problem of drop-outs from the school. The chapter highlights the relationship between drop-out and other factors such as, age, grade, gender, social groups, parental occupation and parental education.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 explore the case of the polarity between Parampancho households and Parampancho Primary School as the two main sites of learning and teaching in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium. While chapters 6 and 7 describe the two teaching-learning environments separately, chapter 8 compares and contrasts the two environments to highlight the nature and extent of polarity between them. Chapter 8 describes also individual differences in the perception of the polarity.

Chapter 9 establishes the relationship between the drop-outs from the school and the polarity between the Ho home and the school. It explains how the individual differences in the perception of the polarity provide the Ho children with the conditions for dropping out or staying in school. The chapter also points out that the conditions of polarity create learning difficulties for the children. Because the children are not able to cope with the learning difficulties, they appear incompetent and maladjusted in the classroom. Consequently they drop out of the school.

Chapter 10 provides an overall summary and conclusion to the thesis. The chapter also points out significance of the research findings and areas for further research.

Chapter 1
Drop-out from Primary Schools in Tribal India

> More than 100 million children...fail to complete basic education programmes; millions more satisfy the attendance requirements but do not acquire essential knowledge and skills (World Conference, *Education For All*, 1990:1).

1.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to address the problem of drop-out[1] from primary schools in tribal India. In the chapter, we shall present the rationale for the current research and discuss definitions and measurements of 'drop-out'. We shall further explain the nature and extent of the problem in the global, national and tribal contexts. The emphasis here will be to highlight the fact that drop-out from primary schools in tribal India must be investigated in its own right. We shall also evaluate some of the significant drop-out studies to highlight the need for a separate conceptual framework to investigate the problem among tribal peoples. Furthermore since we are dealing with the drop-out problem in tribal India, we shall also explain what 'tribal India' means and who are the tribal people in India And finally we shall point out the main framework and objectives of the current research.

1.2 Rationale

Dropping out from educational institutions has been the focus of various international research during the last three decades (Bowman and Mathew, 1960; Lichter, 1962; Saenger-Caha, 1970; Unesco, 1980; Unesco, 1984; U.S.G.A.O, 1986). However there is a great difference between developed and developing countries in terms of the

[1] The term 'drop-out' became popular after its repeated use in U.S.A. for teenage high school leavers over the past two or three decades. The term has also been used for those who, during 1960s and early 1970s, adopted an alternative life style after dropping out of mainstream of society. However, the term has a different and more specific meaning here, referring mainly to primary school drop-outs (Harley, 1990: 6).

nature and scale of the problem and the research works on drop-out. While developed countries, such as the U.S.A., are facing the problem of drop-out from high schools, developing countries are facing the problem of double drop-outs i.e. the problem of dropping out both from primary and secondary school. However drop-outs from primary schools dominates any other form of drop-outs in developing countries. In terms of research carried out in the field of drop-outs, while developed countries have concentrated mainly on their high school drop-outs, developing countries have concentrated their research activities mainly on primary school drop-outs. It is to be noted that the research efforts in the field of drop-outs have been minimal in the light of the scale of the problem. Although some international educational agencies such as Unesco, and non-governmental organisations have conducted some significant macro level research in this field, micro level research on school drop-outs as a whole is inadequate particularly in the area of primary school drop-outs.

Like other developing counties, in India there have been mainly macro level studies in the field of primary school drop-outs (Sharma and Sapra, 1969; NCERT, 1970; Hiriyanniah et al, 1981) and the potentialities of micro level research have been ignored. Important target groups have not been dealt with separately, such as the Scheduled Castes[2] and the Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, there is a lack of qualitative research in this area. The current research is qualitative micro level research into the problem of drop-outs from primary school in tribal India. However before we discuss the nature and extent of drop-outs from primary schools in tribal India, let us look into the possible definitions of the term 'drop-out'.

1.3 Definitions of Drop-out

A drop-out can be defined as "a child who enrols in school but fails to complete the relevant level of the educational cycle. At the primary level this means that drop-out

[2]The Scheduled Caste is a group of people legally recognized as such under the Constitution of India regulations. However they differ from the Scheduled Tribes in cultural terms. While the former are mainly lower caste Hindus (sometimes referred as Untouchables), the latter are groups of people living mainly in forest areas with animistic beliefs and practices.

fails to reach the final grade usually 5 or 6" (Unesco, 1984: 3; 1987: 2). 'Dropping out' is, thus any participant's 'premature leaving' before accomplishing the programme's objectives. But not all premature leaving from a course or programme can be regarded as dropping out. Sometimes participants leave the course due to death or transfer to another school. According to the Dictionary of Education, a drop-out is,

> ...an elementary or secondary pupil who has been in membership during the regular term and who withdraws or is dropped from the membership for any reason except death or transfer to another school before graduating from secondary school (12) or before completing any equivalent programme of studies (Good, 1973: 198).

A similar definition of 'drop-out' has been given by the U.S.A. Office of Educational Research and Empowerment (1987). A drop-out is "a pupil who leaves school, for any reason except death, before graduation or completion of a programme of studies and without transferring to another school" (quoted in Trueba et al, 1989: 19-20).

According to Brimer and Pauli (1971: 15), a drop-out is defined as "a pupil who leaves school before the end of the final year of the educational stage in which he is enrolled." To these authors, drop-out is related to the notion of 'educational stage' (such as primary, middle or high schooling) but not to the existence or duration of compulsory schooling. That is, leaving school before the minimum age (for example, the 11th year in the case of compulsory primary schooling) will not be regarded as dropping out, if the child has completed an educational stage. On the other hand, even in countries without any compulsory schooling, if a child leaves school before completing the education stage in which he is registered, he will be regarded as a drop-out (ibid: 16-18).

Here, it should be pointed out that while all drop-outs constitute educational wastage,not all wastage are drop-outs, because wastage includes drop-out and repetition[3]. Drop-out is the most acute form of wastage. Having enrolled a child in school, the school fails to retain the child. It is more critical at the primary level, for an early drop-out often relapses to illiteracy. As long as drop-out prevails, society cannot achieve universal primary education (Unesco, 1987; GOI, 1993).

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Drop-out from primary schools is a multifaceted problem. The nature and extent of the drop-out varies from country to country, within a country from region to region and within a region from one social group to another. While researching the problem, the specific context must be considered. The problem of drop-out from primary schools is discussed in terms of three contexts: international (in terms of developing countries), national (Indian) and local (tribal).

1.4.1 Drop-out from Primary Schools in Developing Countries

The Unesco report (1972) that "dropping out from primary schools is a global problem" refers to the fact that it is mainly a problem in developing countries worldwide. In terms of continental distribution, drop-out from primary schools is a grave problem in Latin America, Africa and Asia (see Table 1.1).

[3] By 'repetition' is meant a year spent by a pupil in the same grade and doing the same work as in the previous year (Brimer and Pauli, 1971: 18). A repeater is a child who has to repeat the same grade, due to examination failure or low attendance record. Repetition is closely tied to drop-out. Many repeaters eventually drop-out of school. Repetition predisposes children towards eventual drop-out.

Table 1.1

Primary School Drop-outs: Global Trend, c.1970.

Percentage of drop-outs	Countries
10	Greece, Hungry, Italy, Kuwait, and Poland.
20	Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Portugal, Rumania, Thailand and Turkey.
30	Jordan, Mali, Togo, Tunisia and Uruguay.
40	Bahrein, Costa Rica, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Panama and Yugoslavia.
50	Argentina, Congo (People's Republic of), Dahommey, Gabon, **India**, Libia and Malta.
60	Algeria, Brazil, Burundi, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Qatar, Khmer Republic, Upper Volta and Venezuela.
70	Columbia, Domnican Republic, Guatemala, Madagascar and Paraguay.
80	Botswana, Central African Republic, Chad and Rwanda.

(Source: Courier, Unesco, July 1972, No. 60)

India contributes greatly to the world estimate of primary school drop-outs because of its population size. The high drop-out rates[4] in Asia and Oceania are heavily affected by high drop-out in India, a country which accounts for some 42 per cent of the total primary school enrolment in the countries covered in this region (Unesco, 1980: 3). In Asia and the Pacific countries, it has been found that

[4]There is a distinction between the number of drop-outs and drop-out rates. A drop-out rate is a statement about the numbers of drop-outs in relation to the numbers of those who are enrolled. For example, the drop-out rate in the primary education cycle (grades I-V) can be calculated as follows,

$$\text{Drop-out rate (from grade I-V)} = \frac{\text{No. of students enrolled in grade I - No. of students enrolled in grade V}}{\text{No. of students enrolled in grade I}} \times 100$$

But the above ratio is flawed on two counts: it does not take into account the number of a) repeaters and b) the children who enter school after grade - I. The drop-out rate can be calculated in terms of a particular grade (Sharma and Sapra, 1969),

$$\text{Rate of dropout} = \frac{\text{Number of drop-outs in the grade}}{\text{Total enrolment in the grade}} \times 100$$

> ... in Nepal, only about 30 per cent of the children complete the five year cycle of primary education (Shrestha, 1985); in the Philippines, one out of every three pupils dropped out of school before reaching grade VI with the greater proportion leaving as early as grade I (Ministry of Education, 1982); in Thailand, only 66 per cent of pupils who enrolled in grade I in 1976 enrolled in grade VI in 1982 (ONPEC, 1983); and in Pakistan, 48 per cent drop-out during the primary education cycle (AEPM, 1984) (see Unesco, 1987: 1-11)

The majority of the drop-out groups in developing countries come from rural areas, with agriculture as the main household occupation. For example, a very high incidence of rural-urban disparities in terms of drop-out from primary schools have been found in Iran (Karel, 1973), Pakistan (AEPM, 1984) and Papua New Guinea (1974).

> Differences in drop-out rate between grades, sexes, and countries are further complicated by differences in rural and urban locations. Just as literacy is less in rural than urban areas, so drop-out is higher in rural locations (Unesco, 1984: 12).

1.4.2 Drop-out from Primary Schools in India

It is to be noted that like many developing countries, in India the highest number of drop-outs (around 50 per cent) occur at grade-I (Unesco, 1984). According to the Report of the Kothari Education Commission (1964-66), the all India wastage was 60.81 per cent in 1964-65. This means that the proportion of school-going children who become permanently literate, that is the retention rate is only around 40 per cent. According to an earlier estimate, of 100 pupils enrolled in grade-I in India, about 39 drop-out or stagnate[5] in grade 1, 11 in grade II, 8 each in grade III and IV, 7 in grade V, 3 in grade VI, and 2 each in grades VII and VIII (GOI, 1964; Sharma and Sapra, 1969: 1). The total drop-out/ stagnation rate per 100 pupils has been computed at 80 per cent, as shown below:

[5] Children 'stagnate' when they take more than a specified period of time to pass a grade.

Figure 1.1
Drop-out or Stagnation in Elementary Education in India

For each 100 pupils entering Grade-I,	
39 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-I,
11 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-II,
8 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-III,
8 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-IV,
7 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-V,
3 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-VI,
2 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-VII,
2 dropout or stagnate in	Grade-VIII.
80 dropout or stagnate in Grades I-VIII.	

(Source: adapted from Sharma and Sapra, 1969).

The problem of drop-out particularly at primary school stage is persistent and little progress has been made in reducing it. In another estimate, of 100 pupils who enrolled in grade-I, about 45 tended to drop-out by grade V (Unesco, 1987: 5). In 1989, the drop-out rate among primary school children in India was 48 per cent (GOI Annual Report, 1993).

The drop-out/ wastage rate is the highest in grade-I, and decreases through grade-VIII. This fact has been corroborated in a Unesco study which suggests that around 50 per cent of the drop-outs at primary stage occur in grade - I (Unesco, 1984). Furthermore, drop-out is higher among girls (50 per cent) than boys (47 per cent) (GOI Annual Report, 1993). In India, like other developing countries, the rate of drop-out is higher in schools located in rural areas. The overall wastage (drop-out and repetition) up to grade III is 51 per cent among the schools in rural locations in comparison to 36 per cent in urban primary schools (Hiriyanniah and Ramchandran, 1984: 69). The high drop-out rate has been the main factor responsible for the delay in achieving the goal of Universal Primary Education (UPE) (Pangotra, 1986).

According to Naik (1975), an Indian educationist, the existing education system in India does not respond to the needs of rural children especially at the level of primary

schooling. As there are a large number of subsistence agrarian groups situated mainly in the rural areas, the relation between primary education and rural development poses a fundamental problem. There seems to be lack of apparent internal and external coherence between the lived practice of the agrarian economy and primary education. According to Epstein (1985), too little is known about how modern education can be improved to provide a more effective link between India's rural cultural heritage and development processes. There seems to be a very weak relationship between primary schooling and rural development. The primary schools located in rural areas do not uphold the ethos of the village. The main purpose of this study is to investigate the problem of drop-out from primary schools in an Indian tribal village. The current research considers rural and tribal as two important aspects of the problem in the investigation of the problem of drop-out from primary schools in tribal India.

1.4.3 Drop-out from Primary Schools in Tribal India

In 1955, the Dhebar Commission reported a very high incidence of absenteeism, stagnation and dropout in primary education among tribal children. The drop-out rate among the Scheduled Tribes continues to be higher at all levels of education. Table 1.2 suggests that the drop-out rate among the Scheduled Tribes is higher than that among the Scheduled Castes (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2

Drop-out Rates in India (1987-88)

Grades	SC (%)	ST (%)	General (%)
I-V	51.60	65.21	46.97
I-VIII	68.81	80.01	62.29
I-X	81.98	87.62	75.30

SC = Scheduled Castes; ST = Scheduled Tribes (Source, GOI, 8th 5-Year Plan Document, 1991)

It has been found that by the time tribal children (ST) reach the 7th standard their numbers have been reduced to less than half (Wetzlaugk, 1985: 239). Recent data show that drop-out from schools is still very high among tribal children. Furthermore, the incidence of drop-out even among the tribal children is higher in the case of tribal girls than among tribal boys (see Table 1. 3).

Table 1.3

Drop-out Rates: Scheduled Tribes (1988-89)

Grades	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Total (%)
I - V	61.94	68.73	64.53
I - VIII	76.21	81.45	78.08
I - X	84.87	89.91	86.72

Source: MHRD (GOI) Annual Report 1992-93 Part-1, 1993: 305

Thus, from the above analysis it can be argued that the drop-out rate is higher in rural areas than urban areas, in rural areas it is higher among socially and culturally disadvantaged children such as the tribal children, and among the tribal children it is higher among girls than boys.

1.5 Tribal India

From the above discussion it follows that although drop-out is a general problem in India, it is a particular problem among some socially and culturally distinct groups which are particularly disadvantaged in this regard (GOI, 1993). The Scheduled Tribes, often described as the *adivasi* (aborigines) or the *vanyajati* (forest people), are one such group. They are the original inhabitants in their areas and in general they inhabit in forest areas. Unlike the Hindus, they are homogeneous, undifferentiated and unstratified. The Constitution of India, Article 366 defines the Scheduled Tribes

as those tribes or tribal communities which have been so declared by the constitutional order under Article 342 for the purpose of the Constitution. The present list comprises more than 400 tribes, with an aggregate population of 51.63 million persons accounting for 7.8 per cent of the total population (Govt. of India Census, 1991). Beteille notes,

> The Constitutional provisions have in certain respects sealed the boundaries between tribe and non-tribe, and given to the tribal identity a kind of definiteness it lacked in the past (Beteille, 1986: 318).

The Scheduled Tribes are, in fact, the legal sum total of all the culturally distinct social groups who have remained outside the mainstream culture for a very long period of time.

This research is a study of tribal India. By 'tribal India' we refer to all the tribal groups who are living in different parts of the country. But the question arises 'who are the tribal groups?' Generally the tribal people are identified by their legal status of being classified as Scheduled Tribes by the Constitution of India. However such categorization has been a matter of academic dispute among several authors. There are two views regarding the question of their distinctive cultural identity. According to one view (Ghurye, 1943), the tribal groups are the backward Hindus who have lived outside the mainstream culture for a long period of time. While according to the other view (Elwin, 1963), the tribal groups are the quite distinct cultural groups, aboriginal to their land on par with other aborigines of the world. The two views, it seems, describe the two extremes of the tribal situation in India. One may say that the tribal situation is like the spectrum of various Scheduled Tribes where the two extreme cases can be mapped at the two ends. For example, some of the tribal groups such as the Tharu in the Northern Bihar may approximate to Ghurian Model, while the Andaman Islanders in the Indian Ocean may approximate Elwin model. But various tribal groups in central and other parts of India, such as the Munda and the Oraon fall between the two extremes. It is to be noted that there are over 67 million tribal people in India (Census, 1991) divided into 400 tribal groups.

1.5.1 Modern Formal Education in Tribal India

The Constitution of India (1950) recognises education as a democratic right of every citizen. It places emphasis on universal compulsory elementary education. Article 45 of the Directive Principle of the State Policy states:

> The state shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen (Article 45, Constitution of India, 1950).

Prior to 1950, the Government of India had no direct programme for the education of tribal groups. In 1950, the Constitution of India set guidelines for central and state government in the following terms,

> The State[6] shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular the tribes (Article 46, the Constitution of India, 1950).

The all-India programme of primary schooling includes the tribal peoples as well. But primary schooling has not been received with much favour by tribal peoples. In introducing and promoting primary schooling, a large number of difficulties have been encountered and the drop-out rate is very high (Unesco, 1984, 1987; GOI, 1993). The tribal people are late comers to the modern education system.

Here it must be emphasized that tribal peoples had developed their own indigenous systems of education, the dormitory system of education. The youth dormitories in tribal societies worked as supportive centres to reinforce the on-going learning activities in domestic settings. These dormitory systems suited to local needs, included the *Dhumkuria* among the Oraon, *Ghotul* among the Muria and *Morung* among the Nagas. Elwin (1963) referred to them as 'children's republics'. The

[6] Here the term 'State' refers to the federal state that is the Government of India rather state-state. To indicate so, the capital 'S' has been used. However, by its implication it covers both central and state governments, as the subject 'education' has been placed under the Concurrent List i.e. under the governance of both the centre and states.

modern education system represents an innovation among the tribal people as it differs from the indigenous education system and has not developed out of it.

1.5.2 *Ashram* Schooling

Ashram schooling is a tribal primary education scheme. These schools are residential, and are different from the general type of primary school. In *ashram* schools, tribal pupils are provided with free boarding facilities, together with free school uniforms, text books and other learning materials.

> The main object of the *ashram* scheme is to render service to tribal children in tribal areas, to impart primary education and bring these children on par with other children of the general population ... to create an infrastructure in the area which should ultimately help all - side development of the area (Directorate of Maharashtra, Pune, 1980).

But the *ashram* schooling programme has not been fully implemented. The curriculum followed in ashram schools is similar to that in urban schools (Wetzlaugk, 1985) however, the ashram scheme comprises various units unrelated to each other and the nature of the linkage is neither specified nor coherently spelt out.

> The school centred programme is not feasible: the students come from villages whose ethos is, in many ways, antithetical to that of the school. The teachers also come from non-rural backgrounds, and have no stakes in the socio-economic advancement of the village or group of neighbouring villages.
>
> Community support for the schools: is not strong because peasants engaged in subsistence agriculture and do not provide any service to the pupils in the school.
>
> The schools are subordinated to market forces: which in complicated ways sets the limit on the reproduction potentials of the village.
>
> The nature of the linkage between the various units: links between educational curricula and rural development is not specified. Neither is there a framework provided for translating educational programmes geared to agricultural development into a pedagogic practice.
>
> The peasants' attitudes and interpretation are a direct response to the objective conditions of their existence: their position within the social and economic division of labour determined, in the last instance, their support for the official policy and ideology of schools.
>
> The contents of textbooks are irrelevant to the experience of pupils: the contents do not reflect the

life and culture of the students.

(Wetzlaugk, 1985: 233)

1.6 A Case Study of the Ho

Although the problem of drop-out from primary schools is intense among tribal children in general, the nature and extent of drop-out varies from one tribal group to another. Therefore, the problem of drop-out should be investigated in the context of a particular people. The Education Commission of 1964 made it clear that,

> Different tribal people are at varying stages of economic development. There is much difference in the skills they have attained and in the technologies they employ. Therefore, in predominantly tribal areas each group and the area in which it lives should be studied closely and appropriate patterns of development worked out in close co-operation with the people. In terms of such a design of development, the educational programmes, institutions and priorities should be proposed. A uniform approach as between different tribal areas, applied in a mechanical manner will not secure the purpose in view.....Aspects of tribal education which might call for special attention will vary from area to area and no pains should be spared in understanding the problems which arise in different contexts (GOI, 1966: 142-143).

This research is a case study of the problem of drop-out from primary schools among the Ho, a tribal group in the Kolhan region of the Chotanagpur plateau of India. They speak a dialect of the Mundari language which belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family. Their social organisation is best suited to a semi-agricultural and collecting economy. Their segmentary lineage system, involving corporate ownership of rights over forest produce, is well adapted to small village organisation.

The cultural distinction between the Ho, as an aboriginal tribe and the peasant Hindu is manifested in many forms. For example, the structure of a Ho village is very different from that of the hierarchically organised caste village of the Hindus. It is largely egalitarian and social relations are based on kinship and descent. Outsiders, mainly Hindus, are referred to as *Dikus*. The analysis of the Ho political structure shows that they do not organise themselves in a manner that is consistent with the

aims of modern government (Yorke, 1976).

The Ho people are very much behind in terms of modern educational attainment. Their literacy rate is lower than their neighbouring tribes such as the Munda and Oraon. Despite having the facilities of a primary school, half of the Ho children in the area are not enrolled, over 55 per cent of those enrolled drop out before the third standard, and many complete their primary schooling (that is, 5 years) after spending 8 or 9 years in the school (D.S.O., 1992).

The current research investigates the problem of drop-out from primary school among the Ho children in a Ho tribal village. It is suggested that much of the indifference and apathy which tribal people show to primary schooling, as reflected in the high drop-out rate, is rooted in the disjunction between primary schooling and the lived-out experiences of the tribal communities. Such disjunction can be examined in terms of the content, motivation, method and medium of learning at the micro level. The three main objectives[7] of this research are:

a) to present an ethnography of a Ho tribal village in the Kolhan region (see Chapter 4);

b) to investigate the problem of drop-out from the primary school situated in the village (see Chapters 5 and 9) and

c) to apply the concept of polarity in analysing the problem of drop-out (see Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9).

[7] The objectives have been listed serially as they appear in the thesis. The order of the objectives does not indicate the significance of one over the other.

Chapter 2
General Theoretical Outline

2.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, we discussed the problem of drop-outs from primary schools in tribal India. This chapter develops a conceptual framework within which the problem of drop-out will be analyzed and explores the concept of 'polarity' in general and of polarity between the home and the school in particular. Furthermore we shall discuss the rationale behind the application of the concept of polarity in investigating the problem of dropping out from primary schools in tribal India. The polarity between the home and school in tribal India will be described in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium in learning and teaching.

2.2 Polarity: A Concept

The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1987: 795) defines the word 'polarity' as 'the state of having two opposite poles' and the word 'pole' as "the most northern or southern points on the surface of a planet, especially on the Earth." In other words, polarity means opposition between two planetary poles. However this definition is not restricted only to planetary or magnetic poles. It means any 'pair of opposites' (Lloyd, 1966; Needham, 1987). That is, the idea of polarity is based on opposition between any two points of reference such as, right and left, black and white and day and night.

Due to its universal application, polarity has a special significance in the field of scientific study. It is one of the central themes of ancient Greek philosophy. As Lloyd (ibid: 7-15) remarks,

> Few of those who study early Greek thought can fail to be struck by the recurrent appeal to *pairs of opposites* of various sorts both in cosmological doctrines and in accounts of particular natural phenomena.....Aristotle, indeed asserted on several occasions that all his predecessors adopted opposites as principles.

Aristotle gave prime significance to the concept of polarity in his exposition of Greek philosophy (Lloyd, op. cit.; Needham, op. cit.). According to Needham (ibid: 3), "it is one of the oldest concepts in logic and epistemology". Besides logic and epistemology, the concept has had constant influence on several disciplines, such as astronomy, chemistry, theology and social anthropology. It has been used as an important tool to analyze various natural and social phenomena. The concept is widely used because it is easy to understand. According to Lloyd (ibid: 80), "opposites provide a simple framework of reference by means of which the complex phenomena of all sorts may be described or classified". Social anthropologists such as Levi-Strauss, Dumont, Leach and Needham who have used the concept, belong to the Structuralist School of thought. The main argument of the School is that social realities can be viewed in terms of typologies. Levi-Strauss emphasizes this by arguing that social structures, like the natural phenomena, follow the principle of 'binary opposition'. In his study of traditional societies, Levi-Strauss (1958: 148), points out that "in several cases, the members of the society themselves describe their own social organisation in terms of a simple dualistic structure". Needham (ibid), following the tradition of the Greek philosophers, compiles a list of polar elements in his study of the Meru of Kenya (see Figure 2.1). Besides the study of cultural beliefs, the concept has influenced several important studies of the social groups such as 'mechanical vs. organic solidarities' (Durkheim, 1947), 'Gemeinschaft vs. Gessellschaft' or 'community and association' (Tonnies, 1955) and 'primary vs. secondary groups' (Cooley, 1920).

In operational terms, the concept 'polarity' or opposition further implies similarities and differences. That is, the two points of reference are in opposition to one another because they are similar and different in certain respects, such as two poles (north and south), two colours (black and white) and two directions (left and right). Sometimes people emphasize the general similarities at the cost of some specific differences

(Lloyd, op. cit: 169). Both the qualities of similarities and differences provide the background for the condition of opposition between two points of reference.

Figure 2.1.
Polarity of Symbols
Scheme of Meru Symbolic Classification

left	right
south	north
black clans	white clans
night	day
co-wife	first wife
junior	senior
subordinate age-division	dominant age-division
woman/child	man
inferior	superior
west	east
sunset	sunrise
darkness	light
religious authority	political power
predecessors	successors
younger	older
black man	white man
honey-collecting	cultivation

Source: Needham, 1987: 158 (in abbreviated form, see Lloyd, 1966:33)

However the nature of opposition varies from one situation to another because the opposition may be contrary or contradictory or even conflicting. Furthermore, it is to be noted that poles are not two infinite ends. There are various kinds of intermediaries between the two. For example, between the two extremes of day and night, intermediaries like morning, midday, afternoon and evening exist. One may also contend that one polarity can comprise various sub-polarities. Thus, the concept of polarity is significant because of its natural, symbolic and academic value,

> -*natural*, because many prominent phenomena in nature exhibit a certain duality, such as day and night, male and female;
> -*symbolic*, because natural dualities are expressed in symbolic dualities (in customs, religious beliefs and rituals); and
> -*academic*, because opposites provide a very simple framework of reference (Lloyd 1966: 80).

From their studies of various traditional societies, Lèvi-Strauss (1958), Lloyd (op. cit) and Dumont (1982) conclude that duality is inbuilt into social systems. They further contend that complex social phenomena can be examined thoroughly in the conceptual framework of dualism or polarity. The current research adopts the concept of polarity to analyze the problem of drop-out from primary schools in tribal India. The polarity in question is the polarity between the home and the school.

2.3 The Home and the School: A Case of Polarity

The home and the school are the two main centres of learning and teaching in any society. Both teach a certain amount of knowledge and skills, have certain goals and expectations in teaching a child, follow certain procedures in teaching a particular knowledge or skill and use a particular language medium or media. But the two differ from each other in several ways. The home is the place where children begin learning under the guidance of their parents and other family members. School learning for children starts after a certain age under the supervision of formally trained outsiders called teachers. Such fundamental differences are universal (Lightfoot, 1978).

> ... conflicts are endemic to the very nature of the family and the school as institutions, and they are experienced by all children as they traverse the path from home to school (Lightfoot, ibid: 21).

In other words, school learning involves a sub-culture that is different from home learning. Most school children share, in common, a discontinuity between what is learned in the classroom and what is learned in everyday life. In recent years, several writers have stressed the case of on going opposition between the home and the school. They have highlighted the polarity between indigenous home learning and modern school learning in a variety of socio-cultural contexts (Harris, 1984; Christie, 1985; Bude, 1985; Little, 1990).

Drawing on Australian experience, Christie (op. cit) points out the opposition between aboriginal indigenous learning at home and western school learning in terms of context, medium, content and structure. According to Christie, while western formal schooling is characterised by learning in a decontextualized setting, a heavy emphasis on language, learning as an end in itself and a planned educational process, aboriginal indigenous learning takes place in an everyday informal context through incidental socialization, using various modalities of communication with emphasis on skills (Christie, ibid). According to Harris (op. cit), aboriginal indigenous learning is non-institutional and informal. He further points out,

> School learning involves almost a special sub-culture that is different from the home culture. Schools are different in terms of spatial organisation of people, structure of interpersonal communication, the encouraging of 'why' ? questions or an attitude of inquiry and learning by listening and verbalization rather than by doing and observation, the teaching of material other than involving the here-and-now and familiar experiences and so on (Harris, ibid: 19-20).

In an African context, Bude (ibid) brings out a more detailed comparison between traditional black African education at home and western-style primary school education (see Figure 2.2). As is obvious from the figure, Bude (ibid) contends that traditional education in black African homes differs greatly from western-style primary school education. However the polarity he notes in Figure 2.2 has room for possible overlapping. For example, in western-style primary school education, although the state has predominance, some local communities also participate actively in school matters.

Figure 2.2
Comparison between Traditional Black African Education and Western-Style Primary School Education.

Aspects of the curriculum	Traditional Black African education	Western-style primary education.
1. didactic approach	ad-hoc treatment of learning situations	formalized, continuous learning
2. learning field	environment, work, community	school environment
3. emphasis on learning	local	national
4. orientation of learning	local, collectivist, conformist - survival skills ('survival kit')	urban, individualistic, conformist - examination skills (factual knowledge)
5. learning contents	orally transferred knowledge and experience, reproduction of traditional knowledge and skills ('status quo' curriculum)	reading, writing, arithmetic, basic knowledge to understand natural science/technological contexts
6. form of instruction	unstructured, integrative, learner-focused, unity of life and learning	structured, delineation of subjects, teacher focused distinction life and learning
7. learning methods	observation, participation imitation, games, instruction (particularly for special skills)	instruction, lecturing by teacher, games
8. teacher	flexible, parents, family members, specialists - seniority principle	fixed; specialised teachers - qualification principle
9. body responsible for instruction	community, cultural group	state
10. responsibility for instructional design and procedure	parents, community	state, teacher, parents (formal right of co-determination)

(Source: Bude, 1985: 98)

In the Latin American context, Laserna (1988) brings out a systematic analysis of this contrast in her case study of an American Indian community in Colombia. According to her, while informal education is embedded in the social system, formal school education is detached from the indigenous social structure. Unlike home, schools follow detached, explicit rules and practices. She further points out that the embeddedness of an informal home education system can be seen in terms of its repetitive nature, getting the job done and its own compulsiveness (ibid).

Little (1990) places these contrasts in a broader framework. She suggests that in the process of learning a learner draws from at least two learning environments simultaneously, the 'base learning culture' and the 'cultural learning pasture'. The former represents what the learner brings to the learning event, and the latter represents what the learning event brings to the learner. So a newly enrolled child brings to the school 'pasture' learning derived from the home 'pasture'. Each learning environment may be described in terms of learning contents, learning orientations and learning strategies and although duality exists between the two learning environments at the three levels, there are possibilities of exchange between them (ibid).

Thus, from the above discussion it follows that polarity between the home and the school exists in several societies in various parts of the globe and, moreover, that the nature and extent of the polarity differs from one social group to another. But before we analyze dimensions of polarity in tribal India, we shall discuss the main reasons for the existence of the home and school polarity in the present context.

2.4 Home and School Polarity in Tribal India: Two Main Reasons

The polarity between the home and school is more visible in countries where modern schooling is of recent origin and has not developed from indigenous learning systems. The legacy of modern formal education in India is colonial and British. As Harley (1990:7) explains,

> Developing countries have been locked into a concept of basic education, typically derived from a colonial power, which is incompatible with their needs and social systems (Harley, op. cit.: 7).

Although the experience of polarity is common to many Indian people, it has an extra dimension in the case of the tribal communities due to their cultural distinct status. The existence of home and school polarity in tribal India is based on two main factors, colonial legacy and cultural diversity.

2.4.1 Colonial Legacy

Modern formal education in India in general is of recent origin. It was introduced by the British rulers during the colonial period. Its historical landmarks are Macaulay's Education policy of 1835 (the promotion of European learning and English as the medium of instruction), Wood's dispatch of 1854 (the promotion of mass education through the support of private and missionary help), the introduction of the Examination System in 1865, and the 1882 Indian Education Commission (participation of private Indian agencies in the expansion of education).

> The colonial education system was not a modernized transformation of the traditional system of Indian education with its great chronological depth. It emerged on the academic scene outside of and in antiseptic isolation from the historically evolved structure (Kaur, 1985: 1).

After Independence in 1947, the national government continued several educational measures of the old system. The main modification to the colonial policy has been to open up modern formal education to all Indians. But there have not been many changes in the content of national education policies in comparison with the old colonial education policy.

Before the onset of British Rule in India, the education system was based on indigenous learning systems, for example, the *Pathshalas* among Hindus and the *Madrasas* among the Muslims. In fact, the Hindu Caste System has been based to a certain extent on indigenous home-based learning of knowledge and skills. Other socially and culturally distinct social groups in India followed their own indigenous systems.

> For several centuries until the spread of the system of education introduced by the British in the 19th century, the institution of indigenous education was the sole repository of and disseminator of different types of education in different parts of India (Radhakrishnan, 1990: 1).

2.4.2 Cultural Diversity

India is a land of different cultures and cultural influences. From ancient times, various cultural and religious groups have migrated to settle in this land. The tribal people, although aboriginal to the land are cultural minority groups within the country (see Chapter 1). They have their own indigenous systems of education, the dormitory system of education. The youth dormitories in tribal societies worked as supportive centres to reinforce the on-going learning activities in the domestic settings. These dormitory systems suited to local needs included the *Dhumkuria* among the Oraon, *Ghotul* among the Muria and *Morung* among the Nagas.

The modern education system represents an innovation among the tribal people because it differs from the indigenous education system. The modern education system based on the post-independence national education policy, has not integrated the merits of tribal indigenous learning systems. Moreover, the modern education system is urban oriented and neglects primary schools located in rural areas, disregards vernacular languages as language media in primary schools, and devalues the existing indigenous education systems. The new education has generated an ambivalence among the tribal people towards on-going educational practices which is evident in the indifference and apathetic attitudes to modern school education by tribal children and their parents (Naik, 1969; Srivastava, 1967; Sachchidanand, 1962; Toppo, 1979; Wetzlaugk, 1985). The introduction and spread of primary schooling in India took place within the framework of non-tribal and non-rural contexts and primary schooling has not been well received by the tribal peoples, as reflected in the very high drop-out rate. The following remark made in 1960, holds good today,

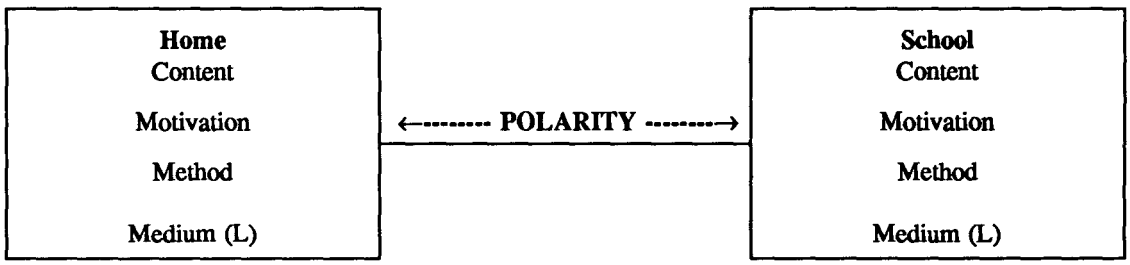
> In a word, the majority of schools in the tribal areas are alien to the local culture and tradition and in some places alien to the traditional culture of India (Government of India, 1960).

2.5 The Home and School Polarity: The Four Dimensions

While exploring home-school polarity and its implications for learning, it is important to keep in mind dimensions of the polarity, such as content, orientation and strategies (Harris, 1984; Christie, 1985; Teasdale, 1990; Little, 1990). The current research concentrates on four dimensions of polarity between the home and the school in tribal India. These are the content, motivation, method and language medium of learning. In the following section, we shall explain why these four dimensions of polarity are important in the examination of the problem of drop-out from primary schools in tribal India.

Figure 2.3

The Polarity between the Home and the School



2.5.1 Content

By the term 'content' we often mean the knowledge and skills to be learned. Both the home and the school offer certain sets of knowledge and skills to be transferred to children (Mead, 1943; Read, 1959; Gay and Cole, 1967; Little, 1990; Nunes et al., 1993; Harris 1991). According to Read (ibid), the Nagoni children learn several types of knowledge, skills and behaviour and their use at home. Similarly the Kpelle children of Liberia learn the important skill of estimation at home (Gay and Cole, ibid).

In school, on the other hand, children learn knowledge and skills as prescribed in the school syllabus. The content is often tied to fixed curricula usually decided by the government or authorized agencies. In many cases, syllabus and textbook materials being used in the classroom have little relevance to the needs and problems of the children involved. For example, the themes of rural development are not properly represented in the school curricula in developing countries (Myrdal, 1973; Naik, 1975). Children from minority communities experience difficulties in school work, because the content of the education in the schools is not adapted to the local communities. The nationalised textbooks do not engage the children as they have been written with an orientation towards the needs of the majority.

The history of the content of formal education in many developing countries is one of dualism and separation - a separation of content considered appropriate for learning out-of-school and learning in school (Little, ibid). Both in the African and Indian contexts, the contents of formal education went through the colonial specification. Despite later initiatives in curriculum adaptation, developing countries have not been able to delink from the historical legacy of the dual knowledge systems. Thus, knowledge and skills acquired in the schools are unlikely to be applied to real life problems away from school. Similarly, a child's experience and knowledge of the world gained outside the classroom may not be seen as relevant to academic learning inside the classroom.

> ... all western notions of quantity - of more and less, of numbers, mathematics and positivist thinking - are not only quite irrelevant to the aboriginal world but contrary to it. ... A world view in which land, spirit beings, people and trees are all somehow unified does not lend itself to scientific analysis (Christie, 1985: 11).

The content polarity between the home and the school in culturally distinct groups occurs in the following forms,

-while domestic knowledge and skills are contextual, emic and embedded, school knowledge is out of context, etic and detached (Musgrove, 1982; McInerney, 1988; Laserna, 1988);

-while the home offers information to children about the communities to which they belong, the school transcends the local boundaries of community knowledge and skills (Harris, 1984; Christie, ibid; Bude 1985);

-while the home leaves the door of domestic household knowledge open to the children, the school imposes restrictions on the choice of knowledge to be learned in the form of the school syllabus (Gegde, 1991);

-while the home offers unified knowledge, the school offers fragmented and compartmentalized knowledge and skills in the form of disciplines and textbook materials (Mead, 1943; Read, 1959).

The knowledge and skills offered at primary schools in tribal India are of little relevance to the immediate environment of the tribal communities. They have, to a large extent, been dysfunctional for tribal socio-economic development. There is a discrepancy between the teaching at primary schools and the lived educational experiences of tribal children at home. In some states, the tribal children are taught from the same books which form the curriculum of non-tribal[1] primary school children in urban areas. The textbook content used in the primary schools does not have much appeal to tribal children who come from very different socio-cultural backgrounds. They experience discontinuities between their traditional way of life and the ways of the dominant culture imparted through schools and text-books. According to Chattopadhyaya (1953: 1-18), there is gap between existing agriculture and farming economies and school teaching in tribal areas. The primary school syllabus and text books show such a gap.

[1]Most teachers in the tribal areas are non-tribals and have a general training oriented to the needs of non-tribal school children. Therefore, they do not even contextualize the non-tribal content while teaching the school textbooks.

2.5.2 Motivation

The term 'motivation' is generally concerned with goals and expectations. The main goal of the education is

> To arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral aspects which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the specific milieu to which he is specially destined.
> (Durkheim, 1975: 21).

The home and the school have different goals and expectations in the education of the child. Domestic goals are usually articulated by elders in the family and often by parents. The main goal in bringing up children in the domestic setting is making them useful (Laserna, op. cit.). Parents have different goals and expectations in sending their children to the school. They view school education as a stepping stone with certificates as credentials for modern sector jobs.

The school, as directed by policy guidelines, has its own goal, often articulated by teachers and school inspectors. Some writers have claimed that certificates have become the central objective of a formal or school education (Dore, 1976). According to Brooke and Oxenham (1980), most of the primary school teachers in Mexico believe that "without certificates children would never get jobs, and progress, 'a higher life' and higher incomes would all be impossible". Writing about aboriginal education in Australia, Harris (1991: 16-64) notes that western knowledge and skills are to be learned in order to function effectively in the western domain, but not to be believed in as representing the best way to live. The motivational polarity between the home and the school are as follows,

> -while the goals of domestic learning and teaching are pragmatic, utilitarian, and of immediate use, the goals of school learning and teaching are non-utilitarian, often impractical and of long term use (Dore, op. cit.; Brooke and Oxenham, op. cit.);

-while the goals of domestic learning and teaching are to continue the household at a later date, the goal of school learning and teaching is to break from the household ties (Mead, op. cit., Read, op. cit.);

-while in the case of domestic learning and teaching parents expect their children to imbibe the cultural values and beliefs of the community, the teachers expect them to conform to the norms of the school (which in certain cases are very different from those of the local community) (Harris, 1984, Christie, op. cit.; Bude, op. cit.).

Modern education has failed to become part of the economic system prevailing among tribal peoples. Given the heavy work load of parents due to the simple technology and scarce means of subsistence, children are expected to participate in domestic chores from early on. Most tribal groups depend on subsistence farming or the use of limited forest resources. But modern formal education prepares them for earning an income only after spending many years in school. Some parents consider schools of no direct use. They prefer their children to help them in domestic work rather than study in school. The opportunity cost of formal education for their children is too high. Elwin, a civil servant and anthropologist points out, "for a tribal family, to send its grown up children or boy to school is essentially a matter of economics and entails dislocation in the traditional division of labour" (Elwin, 1963: 84).

2.5.3 Method

The term 'method' means a way of doing something. The home and the school differ in terms of the methods employed in transferring knowledge and skills to children. In traditional society, most of children's learning in the domestic surroundings takes place by observation and participation in real life situations. The overriding feature of learning in the domestic setting is its dependence on informal learning strategies that is, children are introduced to knowledge and skills through day-to-day socialisation. Opler presents home learning methods as follows,

> The boys watch the man when making bows and arrows, the man calls them over and they are forced to watch him. The woman on the other hand, take girls out and show them what plant to use for baskets and what clay for pots. And at home, the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins and then tan buckskins before the girls while they are at work, tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant (Opler, 1941: 27-8).

Some of the main informal learning methods are learning by observation and imitation, learning through real life performances, learning through successive approximation, and learning by persistence and repetition (Harris, 1984; Christie, 1985; Teasdale, 1990). As Gay and Cole (1967: 16) note, in the Kepelle society,

> The child is inducted into the full life of an adult. He is almost never told to do in an explicit verbal or abstract manner. He is expected to watch and learn by imitation and repetition.

Indigenous home learning also emphasizes the community norms in the teaching of any household knowledge and skills. Drawing from an Australian context, Goodnow and Burns (1985: 4) suggest that,

> We can learn something from the words of two first-graders talking about school: while one said, 'I don't like school. You can't bring your parents or your pets with you', the other commented, 'I like school. I can bring my teddy bear.

Furthermore Teasdale et al. (1992: 445) remark,

> The aboriginal people have a tolerance for ambiguity; what they believe is more important than what they understand. Knowledge therefore is not queried or challenged, specially by young people, and from an early age curiosity is deliberately discouraged.

School learning, on the other hand, is characterized by a very high incidence of formal learning strategies. Some of the main formal learning strategies used in the classroom are learning by memorizing, out of context learning and getting the job done. Much of school teaching methods, Laserna (1988) contends, tends to gravitate towards

memorization of new vocabulary and scientific terms. Doing well in school is a matter of having a good memory. The polarity in terms of methods can be described as follows,

-while at home parents teach domestic chores by showing 'how it is done' the method of learning by doing, in the school the teachers emphasize the method of learning by memorization (Harris, 1984, Christie, 1985; Teasdale, 1990);

-while parents teach children in accordance with community norms, school teachers are indifferent to the community ethos of the children. (Mead, 1943; Ammar, 1954; Read, 1959);

-while home learning and teaching puts emphasis on the mastery of knowledge and skills and pays more attention to the end-product of learning, school learning and teaching emphasizes mainly the procedure of learning, that is learning for the sake of learning (Lave, 1982; Childs and Greenfield, 1985; Laserna, 1988);

-while parents make selective use of rewards and punishments in the teaching of domestic knowledge and skills, school teachers adopt mainly an indifferent attitude towards the child and occasionally use punishment to reinforce discipline in the classroom (Hawes, 1985).

Tribal children's likes and dislikes of school sometimes depends upon the way they are taught in the classroom. Tribal children find school teachers' formal behaviour and the disciplined routines of the schools very difficult to cope with. They do not take much interest in classroom activities. Hawe's remarks about culturally distinct communities in general, holds good for Indian tribal children too:

> The dry and repetitive monotony of the lessons and the texts are often so greatly at variance with the vibrant and colourful life of a community, where there is companionship and laughter and things to do, friends to play, that it is small wonder that children so readily 'switch off' during their lessons (Hawes, 1985: 24)

Tribal children are generally shy of any modern or outside advances, be it education or industrialization, and this shyness is found among tribal children when they are in schools (Raghaviah, 1958). In his study on tribal education, Naik (1950: 172-180) found that the methods of instruction used in schools to teach tribal children were defective and he advocated the inclusion of principles akin to those in the tribal culture. According to Madan (1952) certain fundamentals should always be kept in mind while imparting modern formal education in tribal India. Moreover, according to Elwin (1959), a school should become as much as a tribal institution as possible such as a 'dormitory'.

2.5.4 Language Medium

The term 'medium' refers to the means by which something is expressed. Language is a key medium of expression. Several writers have emphasized the difference between the home and the school in terms of language medium of communication. At the outset, there is the issue of the monolingual home and the multilingual school. The children from minority language homes often face the problem of language communication in the school. However in some societies, the difference is seen in terms of lower and middle classes. As Bernstein points out,

> The school is necessarily concerned with the transmission and development of universalistic orders of meaning expressed often through the elaborated form of language. The home, on the other hand, follows the path of the transmission of particularistic order of meaning, expressed mainly through the restricted code (Bernstein, 1971: 196).

Although Bernstein's formulation is applicable mainly to a class-based English society and to intra-lingual discourse, it provides an insight into the problem of transfer of

learning through second language in school, especially among linguistic minorities. The difference in language use between the home and the school creates learning difficulties especially for the children of minority communities. A major obstacle to the integration of the two worlds of the home and the school is the child's relatively poorly developed communication skills (Tizard and Hughes, 1984: 265). The language medium polarity between the home and the school can be summarized as follows,

-while the home follows the mother tongue as the main language medium of communication, the school in most cases becomes bilingual or multilingual;

-while home learning and teaching emphasizes both verbal and non-verbal means of communication, school teaching emphasizes mainly the verbal means (Tizard and Hughes, 1986);

-while children enjoy considerable freedom of communication in the domestic setting, in school they do not enjoy similar freedom. Their communication is restricted in the school (Tizard and Hughes, 1986; Laserna, 1988).

The language medium of communication in the school is one of the main impediments to the progress of primary school education among the tribal children (Aiyappan, 1964; Bannerjee, 1962; Basu, 1958, 1961, 1963; Das, 1958; Das Gupta, 1959, 1964; Furer-Haimendorf, 1944; RoyBurman, 1965). In most of the primary schools located in tribal villages, non-tribal languages such as Hindi, Bengali and Oriya are used by the teachers for communication in the classroom. According to RoyBurman (1965), tribal children suffer because their primary school education is not imparted through their mother tongue. The use of non-tribal languages in primary schools retards children's understanding and inhibits their expression.

Thus children experience a polarity between the home and school in the content, motivation, method and language medium of learning. This applies to the tribal children in particular because the cultural and social practices which define these four dimensions of polarity are more extreme among them than the children from other

social groups. But the question remains 'Is there a relationship between the conditions of polarity and the problem of dropping out from school?' In the following section, we shall consider the relationship between the home and school polarity and drop-out from school.

2.6 Drop-out: A Product of Polarity

The contrast between the home and the school is the central focus in the investigation of the drop-out problem in this research. According to Bernstein (1990: 77), "the schools' curriculum if it is to be effectively acquired, always requires two sites, the home and the school. Curricula cannot be acquired wholly at school". In other words, how children perform in school is related with what happens in both the home and the school. According to Brimer and Pauli (1971), there are internal and external factors to the problem of drop-out from primary schools. The internal factors are those factors which spring from the very existence and operation of the school. However,

> The school situation and environment may be so alien to the young child that the child does not wish to stay in it. Entering school brings conformity to external rules and conditions of behaviour which may be so wholly new that the child is unable to adjust (Unesco, 1984:15).

The factors external to the school mostly relate to its socio-cultural context. To examine the external factors afflicting schools, one has to go beyond the boundaries of the school. As Read remarks,

> We have to stretch and widen our ideas about education and burst the classroom in our efforts to see children growing up in a total culture and not only inside the limits of formal schooling (Read, 1959: 168).

Factors like parental illiteracy, traditional household occupation and mother tongue all contribute to children's dropping out of school. It is also suggested The Unesco report (1984: 86) that drop-out is highest among children from deprived sections of society, points towards external factors. Furthermore, according to Dubbledam (1970), school

exists as alien institutions in the community.

The current research explores the proposition that the problem of drop-out from schools occurs due to existing conditions of polarity between the home and the school. But we here argue unlike Brimer and Pauli (1970) that both the home and the school are two important places of learning and teaching in the lives of an individual child. The child faces a number of learning difficulties in the school, when school learning and teaching differs greatly from home learning and teaching. As Trueba et al. (1989:3) remark, school education is 'always an intervention in the learning process. If the intervention is culturally incongruent with familial and community culture, conflict and miscommunication will ensue.' Further according to Bernstein (op. cit.: 199),

> ... if the contexts of learning, the examples, the reading books, are not contexts which are triggers on the children's imaginings, are not triggers on the children's curiosity and explorations in his family and the community, then the child is not at home in the educational world.

According to Wetzlaugk (1985: 241), in India, "the formal education system and the village exist as two separate entities in the tribal areas." In this research we argue that tribal children drop out of primary schools because they experience the separateness or polarity between their homes and the primary schools. They experience the polarity at the levels of content, motivation, method and language medium.

Using the concept of polarity, where two points of reference are set in opposition to each other, this thesis considers the polarity between the home and school as centres of learning. The literature on home and school polarity confirms that the extent of the polarity differs from society to society. Because of the impact of the colonial legacy on public education and the striking cultural diversity in India, learning and teaching in the home and the school can be very fruitfully investigated using the concept of polarity. This research looks at the polarity in a Ho tribal community and focuses on four aspects of the teaching and learning - content, motivation, method and language medium in order to determine the extent and nature of the polarity. By investigating

these aspects of the learning and teaching situation in both the school and the home, we will consider the relationship the polarity may have with the high rates of drop-out from school among tribal children.

2.7 Conclusion

The concept of 'polarity' offers an important conceptual framework within which the problem of drop-out from primary schools in tribal India may be analyzed. The review of literature confirms that home and school polarity exists in many societies, but the nature and scale of the polarity differs from society to society. In tribal India, the polarity exists due to factors arising from India's colonial legacy and cultural diversity. Some writers have also indicated that home and school polarity can be analyzed in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium. The current research examines the relationship between the polarity between tribal homes and primary schools and the problem of tribal children dropping out from primary school.

Chapter 3
Research Questions and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodological issues and approach involved in this research. It describes the processes through which this research has progressed, that is, the definition of the research problem, selection of setting and case, sampling within the case, data collection and data analysis. It also describes the fieldwork, including both acquiring access to the village setting and field relations.

3.2 A Qualitative Case Study: An Ethnographic Approach

A case study is a study "of an individual unit - a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community (Cohen and Manion, 1980: 101) for a case can be a person, an event, a program, a time period, a critical incident or a community" (Patton, 1987:19). Though a case study can be both quantitative and qualitative, case studies in educational and social science research, following an anthropological tradition, have been mainly qualitative. They have concentrated on the investigation of small-scale societies (Malinowski, 1922; Mead, 1929; Read, 1959). Whatever the approach, a case study concentrates on a single unit in depth and in detail.

> An in-depth study that gives accurate knowledge of one setting not markedly dissimilar from other relevant settings is likely to be generalised in substantial degree to those other settings... it is better to have in-depth, accurate knowledge of one setting than superficial and skewed or misleading information about isolated relationships in many settings (Spindler, 1982: 80; quoted in Vulliamy et al., 1990: 12).

The current research is a qualitative case study employing a broad ethnographic approach. The rationale behind the case study is that any human behaviour or social action cannot be studied properly without understanding the framework or context within which it occurs. A qualitative case study involves observing and analysing real life situations, and studying actions and activities as they occur in their natural settings (Wilson, 1977; Spindler, 1982; Hammersley, 1984).

Furthermore a qualitative case study seeks to describe that unit in a holistic context. It allows the researcher to explore in depth the actors' meanings and interpretations relating to the incidents of inquiry. By following the ethnographic approach, a researcher can understand and describe a cultural scene from the 'native's point of view' (Malinowski, 1922) or 'the emic or insider's perspective' (Fetterman, 1991: 12). The qualitative case study has been described by researchers in different ways: the naturalistic enquiry (Denzin, 1971; Lincoln and Guba, 1985), qualitative analysis (Strauss, 1987), field research (Burgess, 1987), ethnography (Spindler, 1982b; Hammersley, 1983a) and ethnographic evaluation (Fetterman, 1988). The chief characteristics of such research are,

> ... a natural setting, a human instrument, tacit knowledge, qualitative methods, purposive sampling, inductive data analysis, grounded theory (cf. Glaser and Strauss, 1967), emergent design, negotiated outcomes, a case study reporting (or 'thick description', Geertz, 1973), ideographic interpretation, tentative application, focused boundaries, and trustworthiness (see Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 39-43).

Although there has been some significant qualitative research in the field of secondary school drop-outs in U.S.A. (Wehlage et al., 1980; Fine 1986, Callan 1988), there is need to do similar qualitative research in the field of drop-out from primary schools in developing countries. As Callan 1988 points out

> Drop-outs are a result of interactions between persons and their environments. In order to understand, why individuals react to their environments in the way they do, it is necessary to try to understand how those individuals perceive and interact with the notion of exploring the problem of drop-out from an ethnographic perspective.

Following Callan (1988), we contend that we need to do similar qualitative or ethnographic research on the issue of primary school drop-out in developing countries. In much of the developing world, educational research is largely empirical and quantitative, characterized by the development of standardized tests and questionnaires, the production of data from large samples of schools and individuals, and the analysis of these data by a variety of statistical methods (Shaeffer, 1986: 5; quoted in Vulliamy et al. op. cit.: 16). A great deal of research on the drop-out problem are area studies based on quantitative data and have been conducted mainly by national government agencies or international agencies (NCERT, 1970; NCERT, 1972; Unesco, 1981; Unesco, 1984). These works have concentrated more on identifying patterns of drop-out from schools nationally or internationally than investigating its causes in a single holistic unit.

> Present antipathy towards the statistical-experimental paradigm has created something of a boom industry in case study research. Delinquents (1), *drop-outs* (2), and drug-users (3), to say nothing of studies of all types of schools (4), attest to the wide use of the case study in contemporary social science and educational research (Cohen and Manion, 1980: 99-101).

There is a lack of adequate qualitative micro level research of the problem in developing countries especially India. Most of the research on the drop-out problem in India is mainly macro level studies concentrating on the national or regional levels. The village as the potential field of research has been ignored. Moreover, in such studies the problem of drop-out among tribal people has not been the primary concern. In this research, we have adopted the qualitative case study approach to the investigation of the problem. As the qualitative approach emphasizes mainly the study of a single social unit such as the village or the school (see Chapter4), we have focused our research mainly on one primary school situated in a tribal village. The research has been pursued in the following ways: (1) defining the research problem and an area of investigation, (2) selecting settings and cases, (3) sampling within the case, (4) data collection and 5) data analysis.

3.3 Defining the Research Problem

The research examines the problem of drop-out from primary school among the Ho children in the village of Parampancho, West Singhbhum, India by exploring polarity between the Ho household and the primary school in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium (see Chapter 2). The general problem has been elaborated further in terms of research questions and propositions:

Research Questions The following three broad questions guide the research:

> A. What is the nature and extent of drop-out among Ho children in the village primary school?
>
> B. What are the perceived similarities and differences between the primary school and the Ho households as the sites of learning and teaching in terms of content, motivation, methods, and language medium in the village?
>
> C. Do the perceived differences between the primary school and the home in terms of content, motivation, methods, and language medium explain individual differences in drop-out among the Ho?

More specifically, the research questions under B, which provides the link between A and C, may be expressed as:

> <u>CONTENT</u>
> B.1 What knowledge and skills of silkworm cultivation does the home provide for learning to the Ho children?
>
> B.2 What knowledge and skills does the primary school provide for learning about silkworm cultivation and related activities?
>
> B.3 What are the similarities and differences between the household and the school in terms of the knowledge content of learning about silkworm cultivation?

MOTIVATION

B.4 What are the goals and expectations[1] of the Ho children and their parents in learning and teaching of silkworm cultivation in the domestic setting?

B.5 What are the goals of the primary school as perceived by children, their parents and the teachers?

B.6 How similar and different are the perceived goals of the households and the primary school?

METHOD

B.7 What methods of learning and teaching are followed in the transfer of the knowledge and skills of silkworm rearing in the domestic setting?

B.8 What methods of learning and teaching are followed in the classroom learning and teaching about silkworm rearing?

B.9 What are similarities and differences between the two learning environments in terms of methods of learning and teaching?

MEDIUM

B.10 What language medium of communication is used in the domestic setting?

B.11 What language media of communication are followed in the primary school classroom?

B.12. What are the similarities and the differences between the home and the school in terms of language medium?

After formulating the research questions (A-C), the following tentative propositions have been devised to explain the research problem. These propositions have emerged through the process of designing this research, and will be critically analyzed together with the fieldwork data in Chapter 4.

[1]The term 'expectation' is less precise in meaning than goal. Unlike the term 'goal', it cannot be codified or enlisted in terms of order. Parents often express their motivation in the form of expectations rather in terms of goals as articulated in the school guidelines.

1. The knowledge and skills provided in the primary school classroom are not related to the domestic stock of knowledge and skills. For example, classroom teaching of Social Studies is performed out-of-context and does not draw examples from the domestic context.

2. There exists a perceivable gap between the goals of the primary school and parental goals and expectations in the village. The primary school does not take into account the parental goals and expectations.

3. In terms of methods of learning and teaching, the Ho household and the primary school differ markedly. For example, Ho parents and children in their domestic surroundings engage in participative teaching-learning, while teachers in the primary school follow general, impersonal, and structured sets of rules.

4. Furthermore, there is a wide gap between the Ho household and the village primary school in terms of language medium. Consequently, classroom communication between teacher and children in the school is, to a large extent, verbal, while communication in the household setting is both verbal and non-verbal.

5. Thus, it may be said that the perceived gaps between the primary school and the Ho home in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium explain the high incidence of drop-out among the Ho in the village primary school. *More specifically it is suggested that the parents and children who perceive the polarity between home and school to a greater extent will drop-out more frequently than the parents and children who perceive it to less extent.*

3.4 Selecting Settings and Cases

The nature of the setting chosen for study is an important factor in the research. The village, following anthropological tradition, has been an important natural setting in social science research. Village studies are useful in several ways. According to Srinivas, a social anthropologist,

> ... correlation derived from macro studies may be examined in depth in a micro study (a village study) to find out if they are the outcome of real interrelations or only the accidental juxtaposition of unrelated events. Similarly, hypotheses suggested by micro studies can be tested systematically over wide regions (Srinivas, 1978: 45).

The village is a kind of organic whole (Lewis, 1951) within which social behaviour can be examined holistically. This research has concentrated on the village as a natural setting in order to conduct a holistic study of the polarity between the home and the school in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium.

In India, the village is a homogeneous unit with a socially recognized boundary. Politically, it is the smallest unit of the government administrative system. For many purposes, it serves as a link with wider society. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, 'the soul of India resides in the villages'. But the nature of the village varies from context to context. For instance,

> The tribal village in Bihar differs from the non-tribal village in composition and character. Some of these differences are due to the different ecological setting while others are culture-bound (Sachchidanand, 1966: 52).

But there is a difference between setting and case.

> A setting is a named context in which phenomena occur that might be studied from any number of angles, a case is those phenomena seen from one particular theoretical angle... a setting may contain several cases. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 43).

So if a village is chosen as a setting, it should be selected on certain criteria to facilitate the case study. Three criteria were considered important for selecting a village for this research. These were a) a population comprising members of the Ho tribe, b) continued practice of silkworm cultivation in the village and c) existence of a government primary school within the village boundary. An early choice of Sahedba village turned out to be unsatisfactory for it lacked the two essential conditions of my research, that is, a) the existence of a government primary school (the primary school existed merely on paper) and b) continued practice of silkworm rearing (very recently the villagers have stopped silkworm rearing due to a lack of seeds). Many other villages had similar conditions. However Parampancho filled my criteria. I found an open primary school in the village populated mainly by the Ho and twenty families were reported to be engaged in silkworm *tusar* cultivation. The village has been selected on the basis of the three criteria as mentioned above. They are described in more detail below.

Firstly, the current research is a study of a tribe in a tribal village. Although Parampancho in West Singhbhum district falls under the Scheduled Tribe Area[2], not all the villages in the area are tribal (Sachchidanand, 1966). Parampancho is a tribal[3] village populated mainly by the Ho tribe who constitute over 85 per cent of the total village population. The rest are non-tribal people (around 15 per cent) (see Chapter 1). This research focuses mainly on the Ho population and excludes non-Ho (that is, non-tribal in the case of Parampancho) for three main reasons:

1) Heterogeneity: The non-Ho groups in the village belong to heterogeneous residuary groups. Although they are all non-tribal, they do not represent the dominant non-tribal values of mainland India.

[2] 'Scheduled Tribe Area' means area demarcated constitutionally for safeguarding socio-economic interests of the tribal people living within the legal boundary.

[3] According to Sachchidanand (1966: 52), the tribal village is smaller in size than the non-tribal village comprising forty to eighty households on average. But such statement holds true only in case of villages in dense forest areas (such as, the *Saranda Pir*). In the Scheduled Tribal Area of Kolhan, there are several villages with over 150 households. Thus, size is not the determining feature of a tribal village and it will be wrong to exclude Parampancho from the list of tribal villages simply because it contains over 170 households.

They are the Hindus (such as, Gops, Tantis and Lohars) who are members of the low caste category of the Indian Varna-Jati System.

2) Subservience: From very early on, these non-tribal groups in the village have functioned as subservient groups. In the words of a village elder,

> In the whole Kolhan, you will see many Gops (cattle herders), Tantis (rope maker), and Lohars (blacksmiths). They were brought by our forefathers from outside, when we started paddy cultivation. They were given land for accommodation, but not for cultivation. Even till today they are landless.

While, on the one hand, tribal people are subjugated to the national economy of the non-tribal people of mainland India, the non-tribal groups inside the tribal villages are sub-servient to the tribal peasants.

3) Tribalization: The non-tribal groups in the village are subservient not only to the tribal village economy, but also to the tribal culture. The Ho are the dominant tribal group in the village and everything revolves around Ho cultural activities. As the village man says,

> In Parampancho, non-tribal groups such as the Gops and the Tantis speak the Ho language and drink *handia* (an intoxicating drink associated mainly with the tribal people). Moreover, on occasions like *Maghe parob* (chief Ho festival), the Gops and the Tantis participate in most of the religious activities. Most Ho do not consider them as *Diku* (a term used for outsiders by the Ho in the region). The non-tribals in the tribal villages have been tribalized to such an extent that many of them have kept tribal surnames and, more importantly, applied to government offices for legal tribal status, even though the Government of India considers it a legal offence.

Secondly, this research focuses on tusar[4] cultivation as representative of one of the important tribal occupations. Tusar is a type of silk produced by wild silkworms and reared in a natural setting, such as in forests. Tusar rearing is an age-old tribal occupation and from the very early on, the tribal or forest peoples (*Vanyajati*) have been involved in rearing silkworms and producing tusar. It is undertaken by 40 per cent of the country's tribal population (Ramana, 1987). However, West Singhbhum district produces more than 50 per cent of the tusar in India. Within West Singhbhum, even today, over 90 per cent of tusar rearers are tribal people (Tusar Directorate, Chaibasa, 1992).

The Ho are widely known for their expertise in tusar rearing. The Ho people like some other tribes, breed and rear silkworms in a quite distinctive way i.e. on trees in forests. The village children also participate in these activities quite intensively. Knowledge and skills related to silkworm raising are transmitted within the everyday domestic routine. Thus, tusar rearing is very much associated with the Ho people. However, tusar rearing is not their main source of income but supplements paddy cultivation. It is not only the economy of tusar rearing but the socio-cultural features which matter. In terms of occupation, it is tusar rearing (like lac raising) which differentiates tribal peoples from the non-tribal. At the individual level, one may find a few non-Ho involved in tusar rearing, but at the group level, it is a Ho affair. Furthermore, due to the transformation of the Ho economy from hunting and food gathering to settled peasantry and the accompanying deforestation in the region, tusar rearing among the Ho has declined and they now depend heavily upon paddy cultivation. Moreover, some Ho have opted for non-tribal occupations such as working as wage labourers and growing *rabbi* crops and vegetables. It is in the light of such changes that the current research distinguishes 'tusar farmers' from 'non-tusar farmers'. While the tusar farmers refer to the Ho farmers who are also engaged in tusar rearing, non-tusar

[4] It is one of the finest non-mulberry silks, produced by the species *Anthrea Mylitta* which feeds mainly on *asan, arjan* and *sal* trees (Jolly, 1975). There is a growing realisation on the part of the government that the silk industry has immense potential for development in the tribal region. Planned efforts are being made to promote sericulture in tribal areas by diversifying the subsistence economy and opening up a new field of industrial entrepreneurship on a small scale.

farmers refer to those Ho farmers who are not involved in tusar rearing.

Thirdly, the research is concerned with the government primary school. Government schools have the highest drop-out rate (GOI Annual Survey, 1992), although in a few tribal areas schools are run by voluntary agencies[5], especially Roman Catholic missions, which have been relatively successful and differ markedly from government schools (Sahay, 1976). More importantly they are not village based, and therefore have been excluded from the research.

3.4.1 Sampling within the Case

Sampling, although traditionally associated with survey research, is an essential element of all social research. It is a research strategy which, if carefully planned, can help in the systematic collection of data (Burgess, 1982: 75-78). Sampling within the case is vital to research, to make an adequate representation of the variables involved. This is particularly important when qualitative research is being conducted.

> Selecting cases for investigation is not the only form of sampling involved in social research. Equally important is sampling within cases. In ethnography, decisions must be made about where to observe and when, who to talk and what to talk as well as about what to record and how (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 45).

But samples must be akin to the theory used in the research and contingent upon the local contexts (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Two selection criteria were devised for the selection of informants for the collection of qualitative data: a) the schooling profile of children, and b) parental occupation.

[5]The relative success of primary schools in the tribal area run by the Christian missions in terms of lower drop-outs is an important area to be researched. Unfortunately, there has not been comparative study of these schools. Most of the research on these schools has been conducted by the missionaries.

Schooling profile

To investigate the causes of drop-out from primary school, children are classified into two categories a) drop-outs and b) stay-ins. While drop-outs are children who left school before completing the grade in which they were enrolled, the stay-ins are children who are enrolled and are attending the school regularly. It is by comparing these children's learning experiences that we can find out the possible causes of the drop-out problem.

Parental occupation

Since parental occupation provides most of the learning inputs for a child at home, it is a very significant criteria for the selection of children as informants. Although the majority of the parents in the village are Ho, some follow occupations which may be described as predominantly tribal, while others follow occupations which may be described as predominantly non-tribal. The parental occupations in this research have been categorized as tribal and non-tribal. The tribal occupations are, for example, hunting, food gathering, tusar rearing, lac raising and honey making. The non-tribal occupations are growing *rabbi* crops, working in mines and factories and selling goods in the market. Since tusar rearing is a significant tribal occupation for the Ho, parental occupations in this research have been categorized as tusar farmers and non-tusar farmers. The reasons for using the non-tusar farmers as a residual category (such as, commercial farmers, goods sellers, mine or factory workers and wage labourers) are: a) these occupations are recent adaptations among the Ho or other nearby tribal groups; b) they do not have any tribal cultural links; c) the skills needed for the occupations are non-tribal and d) they require working outside the village or region. Although paddy cultivation is the main occupation among the Ho it has not ousted tusar rearing. In Parampancho, there are 22 tusar rearers. All of them are Ho. However in 1991, there was one Gop (non-Ho or non-tribal) tusar rearer[6]. He died in 1992 during my fieldwork.

[6]Many non-tribal groups in the region have become tribalized. But even today their extent of participation is almost negligible. One of the main reasons is that they do not have any legal right to tribal land or forests. If one or two non-Ho or a non-tribal persons do tusar rearing, it's mainly the result of goodwill of their Ho neighbours.

In Parampancho village, out of total 142 Ho households, 64 had children aged 6-11 years. Of 64 households, 27 had children who had dropped out, while the remaining 37 households had children still attending the school. The households were categorized in terms of (1) children aged 6-11 years (drop-out and school attenders), (2) parents involved or not involved in silkworm cultivation (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1
Schooling Profile and Parental Occupation among Ho household in the Parampancho Village with the children aged 6-11 years

	Tusar Farmers	Non-tusar Farmers	Total
Drop-outs	14	13	27
Stay-ins	8	29	37
Total	22	42	64

The four household categories were as follows: a) households with drop-out children (aged 6-11 years) involved in silkworm cultivation (n = 14); b) households with drop-out children (aged 6-11 years), not involved in silkworm cultivation (n = 13); c) households with children (aged 6-11 years) attending primary school and involved in silkworm cultivation (n = 8); and d) households with children (aged 6-11 years) attending primary school, but not involved in silkworm cultivation (n = 29). The household survey indicates a clear cut association between parental occupation and school attendance.

Twenty children and their parents were selected for intensive study. The children were selected in such a way that when considered from the perspective of schooling profile, 10 were drop-outs and 10 stay-ins; and when considered from the perspective of parental occupation, 10 children had tusar farming parents and the remaining 10 had non-tusar farming parents (see Table 3.2). In the sampled household matrix, as shown in Table 3.2, a uniformity in terms of gender representativeness has been maintained across the samples. That is, number of male and female children have

been distributed equally in terms of sampling criteria, schooling profile and household occupation.

Table 3.2
The Sampled Household Matrix

	Tusar Farmers	Non-tusar Farmers
Drop-outs	**Group-A:** 5 Children (2 Boys & 3 Girls) and their Parents.	**Group-B:** 5 Children (3 Boys & 2 Girls) and their Parents.
Stay-ins	**Group-C:** 5 Children (3 Boys & 2 Girls) and their Parents.	**Group-D:** 5 Children (2 Boys & 3 Girls) and their Parents.

Total children: 20 (10 Boys & 10 Girls).

Group-A: 5 Drop-out children (2 Boys and 3 Girls) and their tusar cultivating parents.

Group-B: 5 Drop-out children (3 Boys and 2 Girls) and their non-tusar cultivating parents.

Group-C: 5 Stay-in children (3 Boys and 2 Girls) and their tusar cultivating parents.

Group-D: 5 Stay-in children (3 Boys and 2 Girls) and their non-tusar cultivating parents.

3.5 Data Collection

This section describes the fieldwork (entry, field relations and field condition) conducted for data collection. It also describes the tools of data collection used during the fieldwork.

3.5.1 Fieldwork

Ethnographic research involves a 'long intensive' fieldwork in a natural setting. I spent ten months conducting fieldwork for the current research in southern Bihar where most of the tribal people, including the Ho, are concentrated.

Entry to village setting

My entry to the village chosen for the research was a long process as the fieldwork was my first introduction to any tribe or tribal area. Before the fieldwork, I knew about the *Adivasi* (tribal people) through books and journals (Singh, 1986). It took almost three months to get into a tribal village suitable for this research. My initial tasks during the early part of my fieldwork were to gain more information about the Kolhan (a government tribal estate where most of the Ho are concentrated) and to learn the Ho language. Ranchi, the most important city in the southern Bihar, seemed the best place to explore information about the Ho and their tusar rearing activities. I consulted various people and institutions in Ranchi, such as the Bihar Tribal Research Centre, the Central Tusar Research Institute, the Department of Anthropology (Ranchi University) and the Xavier Institute of Social Sciences. I was apprised of the political sensibilities of the Kolhan region. In West Singhbhum district, the Lupungutu St. Xavier High School (which also houses a tribal research centre situated at short distance from Chaibasa the district headquarters) was of constant help. It was at this high school where I began learning the language with the help of a native language teacher and pursued my search for a village in the district of West Singhbhum. My fieldwork diary describes this time.

My first visit to the Parampancho village — Lupungutu, 24 September, 1992

Fr. Deeney (a Jesuit Catholic priest) had arranged with Mr Dhanur Singh Purty (a native working for Fr. Deeney) for the two boys from Karlajuri (a Ho village) to accompany me in searching my research village. Today, early in the morning, I, along with the two boys set out for the expedition on bicycles. On way, I talked with them about my research including the selection criteria of the village setting. They first took me to Buta, a Ho village inside the hills, because the boys had some relatives in the village. And according to them, their relatives did tusar rearing last year. We found four or five rearers in the village. They took us to the trees which were used for rearing. According to them, there were other rearers in the village. After exploring the rearers, we went to the government primary school in the village. I was very disappointed by the very sight of it. One teacher with around four or five children in a dilapidated building! When approached, the teacher was very frightened of me mistaking me for a school inspector. According to the teacher, the school had two teachers. One had not come that day. It seemed that there had hardly been any teaching going on in the school. When asked about the books taught, the teacher drew a blank. After a brief chat, I left the school a bit bewildered. Then we set out for another village called Parampancho. On the way, the boys indicated towards an old lady guarding *lungam* (or tusar) on an *asan* tree. From the lady, we found out that there were around 10 tusar rearers in the Parampancho village. As we approached the village, an old man stopped us and started joking with one boy. Later the boy confirmed that he is his distant brother-in-law. That's why he was joking with him. The old man took us to the *Munda* (the village headman). It was from the Munda I learned about tusar rearing and the state of government primary school in the village. According to the village headman, though tusar rearing in the village has declined in recent years, but still there may be at least 15 tusar rearers. When asked about the school, he asked the old man to accompany us to the school. I said *johar* (a Ho term for greeting or goodbye) to Munda and promised him to see him again, if the school in the village appeared suitable for my research. In the Parampancho Primary School, we found 15 children most of them with slates and some with books as well. There were two teachers in the school. I had a long chat with the teachers about the condition of the school. The school on the whole appeared worth researching. I felt a sigh of relief. The boys were happy as well. They took me to a family for *handia*. After that the boys left for Karlajuri and I returned to the Lupungutu school (my temporary residence). It was a successful day!

However acceptance in the village was a much more complicated process than it appeared on my visit there. Mere physical entry to the research setting does not guarantee an easy and smooth retrieval of information. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:56), "access is not simply a matter of physical presence or absence. It is far more than a matter of the granting or withholding of permission for research to be conducted". Even after getting permission from the Munda for staying in the village, it took a long time to establish amicable relations with the villagers.

Field Relations

It was through the village headman that my relationships in Parampancho grew. He informed the villagers about my *olparao paiti* (reading and writing work). Later when

I talked to the villagers personally about my interest in their *lungam paiti* (silk or tusar) and *ote paiti* (agricultural work), parents expressed positive opinions about me. However, suspicions were raised regarding my *Diku* identity for I had been introduced to some villagers by a popular Christian priest. Despite the village headman's recommendations, I had to suffer on many occasions for my mistaken identity as a benevolent Christian who was interested in tribal welfare. In recent years, because of the revival of the *Jharkhand* Movement (a pan tribal movement for a separate state), social workers and missionaries are not always welcomed. The Ho treat them with suspicion. Moreover, many Ho do not view the Christian influence positively. In the *Bā* festival at Parampancho, a drunk Ho accused me of snatching his religion -

> You Christian (I being mistakenly identified as a Christian priest) are here to take our *Singbonga* (Ho Supreme God). You teach about your God, not about our *Singbonga.*

Nevertheless a Christian missionary in the region is likely to be tolerated more than any Hindu or Muslim outsider.

In the field, when a researcher observes the native people, the native people also observe the researcher. Even the researcher's personal effects are noticed. Thus, personal appearance can be a salient consideration (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 78-88). A researcher often has to engage in 'impression management' in the field (Berreman, 1962). This was one of the reasons I found a bicycle suitable transportation among the Ho, for the use of a motor bike would create a status difference which would have reinforced my *Diku* (outsider) identity and thereby restrict my access to many informants. The Ho in general use bicycles. They consider that it is mainly *Diku* (the affluent) who ride on motor bikes as they are very rich. Moreover, in their perception, the affluence of the *Diku* contributes to the impoverishment of the tribe in general, and the Ho in particular.

My other main asset in developing relationships within the village was the close relationship with the family who allowed me to stay with them. This provided me with support which was recognized by the villagers. The family head (who is

graduate and a government employee) enjoys considerable influence in the village. His family represents one of a few Ho families in the village whose members have had a modern formal education and follow non-tribal occupations. His brother is an employee in a government telephone department.

In the domestic setting, occasions such as working in the fields, walking to market, sitting around the fire (i.e. during the winter) were used for discussion. The drinking of *handia or diang* (local alcoholic drink) was of utmost help in getting on friendly terms with the villagers.

3.5.2 Tools of Data Collection

The tools of data collection used in this research are a combination more akin to research method of triangulation the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of human behaviour (Cohen, 1980:254). Triangulation is a very useful technique in qualitative case study research. The triangulation method used in this research comprised a) direct observation, b) semi-structured interviews and c) documents.

However, the tools in this research have been used in accordance with the research questions devised. Each specific research question needs a particular kind of tool. In fact, there is a "logical relationship between chosen area of study, the derivation of suitable research questions and the choice of appropriate research techniques to explore such questions" (Vulliamy, 1990:15). Drawing from his research experiences in Malaysia and Sri Lanka, Lewin (1990) asserts that, it is the research questions which guide the data most. Following Lewin (ibid), when selecting tools, each research question was kept in mind.

However, for a qualitative case study, it was necessary that the setting should be researched holistically. That is, information relating to the ethnographic background of the village should be established. So, within the village, the first task was to conduct a

village census or survey. For this, a house to house enquiry was made of the 172 household units to record, for example, household membership, occupation and literacy. Here I agree with Yorke (1976:32), who found the questionnaires, of little use while researching in a similar setting in the Kolhan. The question-answer technique is useful where literacy is at a higher level. Following Yorke (ibid), a conversational approach was adopted. All the enquiries were based on checklists (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1
The Village Census Checklist.

The Village Census Checklist

Household No.--------; Family Head----------;
Social Category: Tribe-----/Caste---------.
Population: Male--------/Female-------/Total---------;
Literacy: Male------/ Female------/Total----------;
Levels of Education: Middle(M/F)------;Matric(M/F)---Intermediate(M/F)----/Graduation---;
Children (6-11 years): Boys-----/ Girls------/Total------;
Children at primary school: Boys-------/Girls------/Total--------;
Land holding: Cultivable------/Non-cultivable------/ Total-----;
Occupation*: Peasant-----/Independent wage labourer-----/government services------;
Sources of Income*: agriculture------/wage----/services----;
House: wall----/roof----/rooms-----;
Cattle: Oxen-----/Cows-----/buffalos---.

* Later, data relating to Occupation and Source of Income were collected in terms tribal and non-tribal sub categories.

Consequently the basic survey work was very time consuming. To survey one house required at least three half-day visits. But when complete, this provided the essential ground plan for the selection of 20 households in the village for an intensive study.

After gathering ethnographic details of Parampancho village, data collection revolved around the research questions. The first task was to identify the drop-outs from the primary school in the village. For this, school records (registration, attendance and annual examination) were consulted. In addition, a separate detailed educational household survey for drop-outs was conducted in the village to verify the school records and to gather more information relating to the socio-economic background of these drop-outs. The checklist covered drop-outs' age, sex, social category, parental

literacy, level of parental education, parental occupation or source of income, nutrition, post drop-out literacy and reasons for leaving school in brief (from child /father /mother). Here it is to be noted that similar checklists were also used for stay-ins in the school.

Direct observation and semi-structured interviews form the core of the qualitative research methods.

> Ethnographic study requires direct observation; it requires being immersed in the field situations and it requires constant interviewing in all degrees of formality and casualness. From this interviewing backed by observation, one is able to collect and elicit the native's view(s) of reality and the native's ascription of meaning to events, intentions and consequences (Spindler, 1987: 4).

For the research question, 'What are the perceived similarities and differences between the primary school and the domestic households in terms of content, motivation, methods, and medium in the village?' the tools used were mainly observation and semi-structured interviews with the 20 selected children and their parents. To avoid any unevenness in the observation and interview of these focal children, individual and household daily routines (in terms of time, place and activities) were established by preparing individual work routines and weekly diaries. That is, a diary of the daily routines of 20 children and their parents was prepared. Once the daily routines were established, the systematic data collection of the research question began. Since the question comprises sub-questions relating to content, motivation, method and language medium, the tools used in these questions will be described as follows.

To explore the content of knowledge and skills taught in the village primary school, syllabus guidelines, school textbooks (grades I-VI) and government documents relating to the National Education Policy (1968, 1986) were collected. Teachers were asked to comment on additional resources used in the classroom. For the content of domestic knowledge and skills of tusar rearing, tusar rearing parents, the *diuri* (village priest), and concerned village elders were interviewed to locate the available resources used in introducing the knowledge and skills of tusar rearing. It was interesting to

find that Ho women showed equal awareness of tusar rearing despite being barred from participating in the rearing.

The research question relating to motivation of children, parents and teachers required mostly semi-structured interviews. The school teachers in Parampancho Primary School and the school administrators (such as the District Superintendent of Education) were interviewed about the goals of the primary school. Besides interviews, documents relating to goals and objectives set by the government were also consulted. Regarding home learning motivation, children and parents were interviewed about tusar cultivation or any other occupation in the domestic setting.

The research question relating to the methods of learning and teaching required direct observation of learning activities at home and in the school. Inside the school, the classroom interactions between the children and the teachers were observed in great detail. The observations were carried out in a non-directive way, that is from behind while sitting on the back bench. For methods of learning and teaching used by parents in the domestic setting, on-the-spot observations were made of the interaction between children and their parents while involved in tusar rearing. Moreover, children and parents were asked to reflect about the learning and teaching methods used in the school.

The language of communication in both the home and the school required observation and the recording of conversations or communicative interactions between parents and children at home, and between teachers and children in the school. Besides recording the conversations, the teachers were interviewed to find out the communicative efficacy of the language medium used in the classroom. Fluency and consistency of expression were taken into account while recording the conversation.

Thus, the research question (B) was explored through direct observation, semi-structured interviews and documents. These methods were used in a complementary way. For example, sometimes interviews served as a means of double checking the observational data, a means of getting information about teachers', children's and

parental motivation, and a means of eliciting inventories of tasks the children were expected to perform at various stages, etc.

3.6 Data Analysis

In this section, the data analysis will be analyzed in terms of two phases[7], pre-field work and post-fieldwork.

Pre-fieldwork analysis

Data analysis in this research has been a continuous process, from the selection of the research topic to the final conclusions. However, its intensive phase started after the fieldwork was completed. As Fetterman (1991:103) says,

> Analysis takes place throughout any ethnographic endeavour from the selection of the problem to the final stages of writing. The researcher builds a firm knowledge base in bits and pieces, asking questions, listening, probing, comparing and contrasting, synthesizing and evaluating information.

The selection of 'Drop-out from Primary Schools in Tribal India' as my research topic required the evaluation of various institutions related to the research. For example, it was important to identify the major differences between tribal and non-tribal characteristics of the village life in India (see Chapter 1). The literature on 'the conceptual framework' too required the unpackaging and analysis of four dimensions of the concept of polarity. The conceptual framework of polarity plays an important part in the exposition of the problem of drop-out. Fetterman (1991) emphasizes this point in his remark, "no study, ethnographic or otherwise, can be conducted without an underlying theory or model ... the researchers theoretical approach helps define the problem and how to tackle it." This can be noted in the previous two chapters (Chapters 1 and 2).

[7] This is not to deny that data analysis does not take place during the fieldwork. The researcher often has to make minor or major adjustments in the field, as the fieldwork plan comes to terms with the existing reality.

As the research progressed further, the broad research questions were unpackaged into various sub-questions. The sub-questions were framed to operationalise the four dimensions of the polarity, i.e content, motivation, method and medium. The framing of sub-questions further required the selection of specific tools of data collection and decisions regarding the sampling of key informants. The sub-questions helped in phrasing the main propositions of the research. The propositions guided the research for interpretations of the empirical findings. As Goetz and LeCompte (1984:173) remark, the researcher "generates and tests successive explanations, both mundane and theoretical for the behaviour exhibited and attitudes held by the people under study". It is to be noted that propositions were generated mainly to seek starting points, rather than to prove or disapprove any hypothesis.

Before we describe the post-field work data analysis, it needs to be pointed out that the analysis which goes along with the data collection during the fieldwork. The researcher very often has to go through the reorganisation of some of the pre-fieldwork ideas and make on-the-spot decisions regarding the use of certain techniques because the realities in the field often do not match with its preconception.

Post-fieldwork data analysis

After the completion of the fieldwork, the final stages of the data analysis began. The process was similar to what Goetz and LeCompte (1984: 167) call "perceiving, comparing, aggregating and ordering, establishing linkages and relationships and speculating". The post fieldwork data analysis started with the ethnographic description of the village. The information gathered from the general household survey was grouped in terms of demographic composition, economy and source of livelihood and social structure. The government documents and documents held by the village headman were analyzed to describe the historical background of the village, the village political administration and matters relating to religious affairs.

The research question 'What is the nature and extent of drop-out from the Primary School?' required analysis mainly of the school records and household drop-out survey. While the school registers were used to describe the school internally, the

household drop-out survey was used to analyze the relationship between drop-out and external factors. In specific terms, we used the school registers to describe the school to find out its historical background, annual enrolments and drop-outs. The household drop-out survey information was used to show the relationship between drop-out and various factors such as parental occupation, level of parental education and nutrition.

The research question 'What are the perceived similarities and differences between the home and the school in terms of content, motivation, method and medium?' required interpreting interview and observational data and grouping these in terms of the four research dimensions. The grouping of data helped to detect patterns in children's and their parents' perception of polarity. A similar procedure was followed in analysing the observational and interview data on the final research question that is 'Do the perceived similarities and differences between the home and the primary school in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium explain individual differences in drop-out?' In this case, the focus was mainly on the categories involving learning difficulties in examining the association between learning difficulties and the perception of the polarity in terms of the four dimensions. The data on learning difficulties was categorised in terms of children's schooling profile (such as, drop-out and stay-in). Such categorization helped to show relations between home and school polarity and drop-out. As Goetz and LeCompte (1984: 170) explain,

> ...central to categorization is the generation of the properties and attributes that the data units of a category share. Data are massed and scanned through systematic content analysis. Properties of category discovered by testing how all units are alike and how do they differ systematically from units outside.

At this point, the propositions helped in comparing categories and seeking patterns at different levels of comparison. A limited amount of statistical analysis such as Lambda measure (λ) of association to indicate patterns in the drop-out and stay-in children's perceptions of polarity and learning difficulties.

3.7 Conclusion

The current research is a qualitative case study. The research design is suitable for an in depth study of the problem of drop-out from village primary school. This chapter has described the five main processes of the research, that is, the definition of the research problem, selection of settings and cases, sampling within the case, data collection and data analysis. The research problem was defined in terms of broad and sub-questions (see Figure 3.3). The research questions proved useful not only in determining the case within the setting but also in delimiting the size of the research sample. Although the current research is a study of Parampancho village, within the village we have focused our study on the Ho people due to cultural and economic factors. Moreover, to facilitate an intensive study, the sample size was limited to twenty Ho children and their parents. The research questions were kept in mind in the use of particular techniques of data collection (see Figure 3.3) and data analysis. Semi-structured interviews, observation and documents were used selectively in accordance with the questions. The data collected from the three different techniques were triangulated to highlight the qualitative nature of the investigation. The use of quantitative analysis has been mainly to highlight the arguments derived from qualitative analysis.

Figure 3.2
The Research Questions, Samples, Tools of Data Collection and other Comments.

Research Questions	Samples (subjects, target-numbers, comparison groups)	Tools of data collection	Other comments
A. What is the nature and extent of drop-out in the village primary school?	A. The school children: drop-outs and stay-ins	A. A brief census of the school, the school attendance records, and a household survey.	A. The data gathered from the school attendance records were verified with parents and the children in the village.
B.1. What knowledge and skills of silkworm cultivation does the home provide for learning to the Ho children in the village?	B.1. The children, parents, the village headman, the priest or shaman, and other concerned elders.	B.1. Semi-structured interviews of the parents were conducted to locate available resources used by them in introducing the children to the knowledge and skills of silkworm cultivation.	B.1. Despite being barred from participating in the tusar cultivation, many of the Ho women provided significant information relating to resources used in tusar cultivation.
B.2. What knowledge and skills does the primary school provide for learning about silkworm cultivation and the related activities?	B.2. Textbooks (grade I-V), National Curriculum Policy Guidelines for primary schooling and other relevant texts.	B.2. Content analysis of school textbooks (grades I-V) to gather information relating to the content of knowledge and skills made available to Ho children in Parampancho	B.2. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to locate additional resources used by the school teachers.
B.3. What are the similarities and differences between the primary school and the domestic setting in terms of content?	B.3. The resources used in the two situations.	B.3. An attempt has been made to find out the representative themes from the resources used in the domestic setting and to compare those with the representative themes derived from the school textbooks.	B.3. The comparison involves preparing a checklist of the resources used in the two situations.
B.4. What are the goals and expectations of the Ho children and their parents for learning of silkworm cultivation in the domestic setting in the village?	B.4. The Ho children and their parents Target groups: a) children whose parents are involved in silkworm cultivation; b) children whose parents are not involved in silkworm cultivation.	B.4. Semi-structured interviews were used to find out the goals of children and their parents in learning and teaching of silkworm cultivation in the village .	B.4. Besides the parents and children, the village headman (Munda), and other key informants such as the clan elders were interviewed in relation to the importance of tusar cultivation in the region.
B.5. What are the goals of the primary school as perceived by the teachers, parents and children?	B.5 a) The school teachers (n= 3), the school inspectors, the education administrators. b) the parents (n= 40) and children (n= 20).	B.5. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to elicit information from the school teachers and the school administrators to reflect on the goals of the village primary school. Besides the interviews, government policy guidelines relating to primary schooling were consulted.	B.5. About the goals of the school, besides the teachers, school administrators and some prominent retired teachers were interviewed.
B.6. How similar and different are the perceived goals of the primary school and those of the domestic households?	B.6. The comparison groups: the persons (the school teachers, the school inspectors, the D.S.E) involved in the school situation, and b) the children and their parents in the domestic learning situation (tusar cultivation).	B.6. The data collected from the two situations have been cross-tabulated to ascertain and examine the gap between the two situations in terms of motivation.	B.6. The comparative study of the gap between the perceptions of the teachers and the parents relating to the goals of the primary school in the village.

B.7. What methods of learning and teaching do the children and parents adopt in introducing their children to the knowledge and skills of silkworm cultivation in the domestic setting?	B.7. The children and parents involved in silkworm cultivation	B.7. On the spot observations were made of the interaction between the children and parents involved in silkworm cultivation with special consideration to the methods of instruction used in the domestic setting.	B.7. The interactions were observed while sitting near the work area in non-directive way but fully observant way. While recording the verbal interaction, non-verbal details were written simultaneously.
B.8. What methods of learning and teaching are followed in the classroom in the school?	B.8. The school children and the school teachers.	B.8. I observed the classroom interaction between the children and the teachers with special consideration to the methods of instruction.	B.8. The classroom interactions were observed in non-directive way, that is, from behind while sitting on the back bench. Equal emphasis was given to both the verbal and non-verbal methods of instruction.
B.9. What are the similarities and the differences between the home and the school in terms of methods of learning and teaching.	B.9. Comparison groups: the teachers and the children in the school and the children and their parents in the domestic setting.	B.9. Comparing the data collected from the two situations to examine the relation in terms of methods of learning and teaching followed.	B.9. The comparison involves preparing a checklist of the features of the methods of instruction used in the two situations.
B.10. What language medium of communication is followed in the domestic setting?	B.10. The children, and their parents in their domestic setting.	B.10 The communicative interaction among the children and their parents were tape recorded.	B.10. The conversations were recorded in term of the fluency and consistency in expression.
B.11. What language medium of communication prevails in the primary school classroom ?	B.11 The school children and the teachers	B.11 .The conversations or communicative interactions among children and the teacher were recorded.	B.11. Besides recording the conversations, the teachers were interviewed to find out the communicative efficacy of language medium used in the classroom. The conversations were recorded in terms of fluency and consistency of expression.
B.12. What are the similarities and the differences between the two learning situations in medium of communication ?	B.12. Comparison groups: children and teachers in the school setting and children and their parents in the domestic setting.	B.12. Comparing the data gathered in the two situations to examine the gap between the two learning situations in terms of language medium of communication.	B.12. The comparison involves exploring the differences between the mother tongue (Ho) and the school language (Hindi).
C. How does the perceived relations between the primary school and the home in terms of motivation, content, methods, and language medium explain the incidence of drop-out in the primary school in the village?	C. Comparison groups: a) the informants in the school situation (such as, the school teachers, the school administrators, the stay-in children); b) the informants in the domestic situation (such as, the parents, the village headman, the clan elders, the children involved in domestic works.	C. Comparison of the data gathered from the two situations in terms of motivation, content, method, and medium to examine the polarity between the home and the school.	C. An attempt has been made to relate the polarity to the problem of drop-out in Parampancho.

Chapter 4
Parampancho: An Ethnographic Description

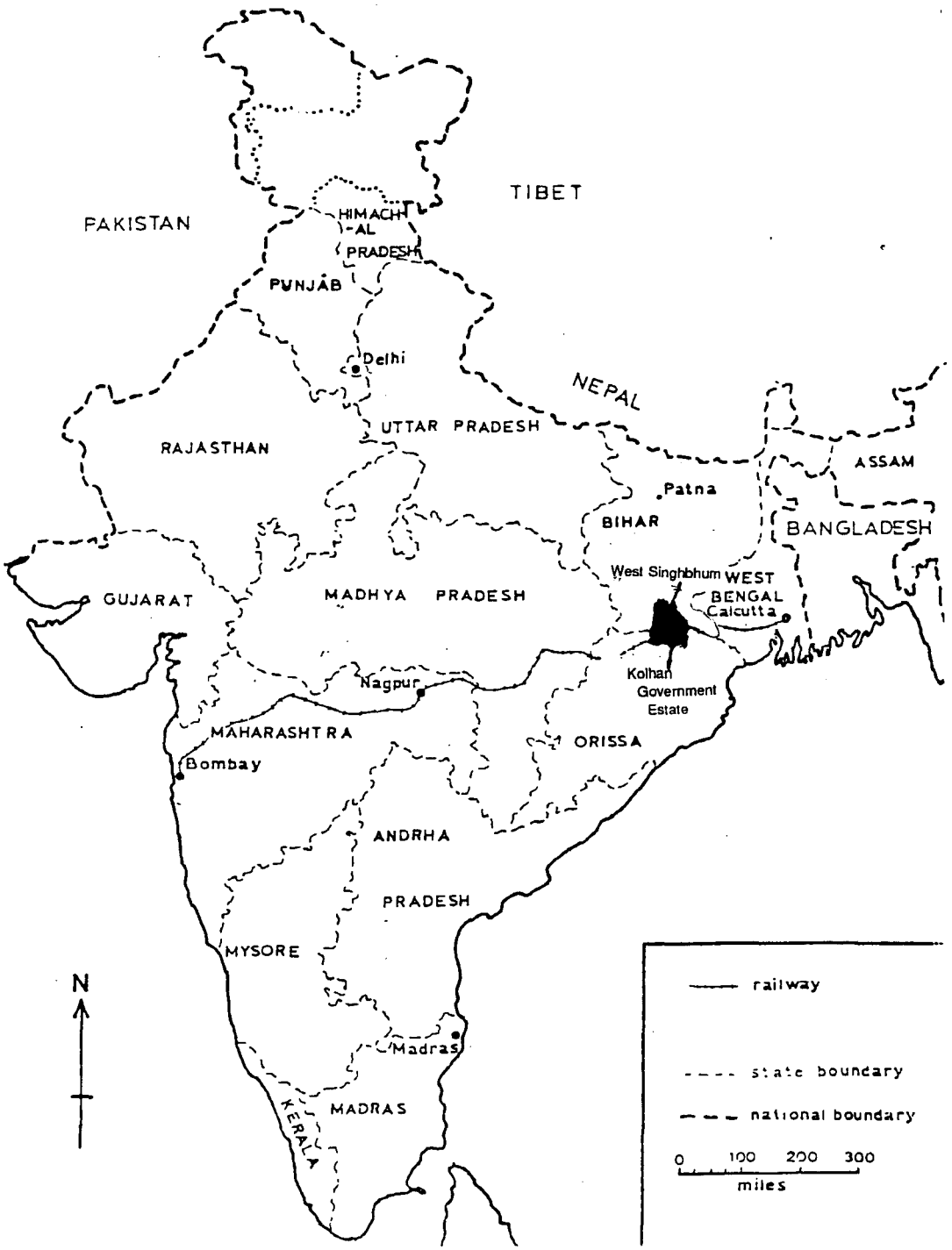
4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an ethnographic description of Parampancho and a background to the cultural and social context and way of life in which Ho children learn. It reviews different aspects of the village which is situated in a predominantly Ho tribal region. As most of the tribal groups in India have some degree of exposure to non-tribal influences (Ghurye, 1943), the chapter also evaluates the village in terms of tribal and non-tribal features.

4.2 Setting and Settlement

Parampancho is situated in the West Singhbhum district of Bihar in India (see Map 4.1). The district of West Singhbhum lies between 21° 58′ and 23° 12′ latitude north and between 85° 0′ and 86° 12′ longitude east with an area of 8,013.7 square kms at 243.93 metres above sea level (District Statistical Office, Chaibasa, 1992). It is bounded on the east by East Singhbhum (Dhalbhum), on the west and the north by the district of Ranchi and on the south by parts of the districts of Orissa such as Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, and Sundargarh. The district came into existence in 1990 when the old Singhbhum district was divided into two, East Singhbhum and West Singhbhum, the former comprising the old Dhalbhum sub-division with its headquarters at Jamshedpur and the latter comprising the remaining four sub-divisions Sadar, Seraikela, Ghatsila and Chakradharpur with Chaibasa as its headquarters.

4.1 Map of India and West Singhbhum



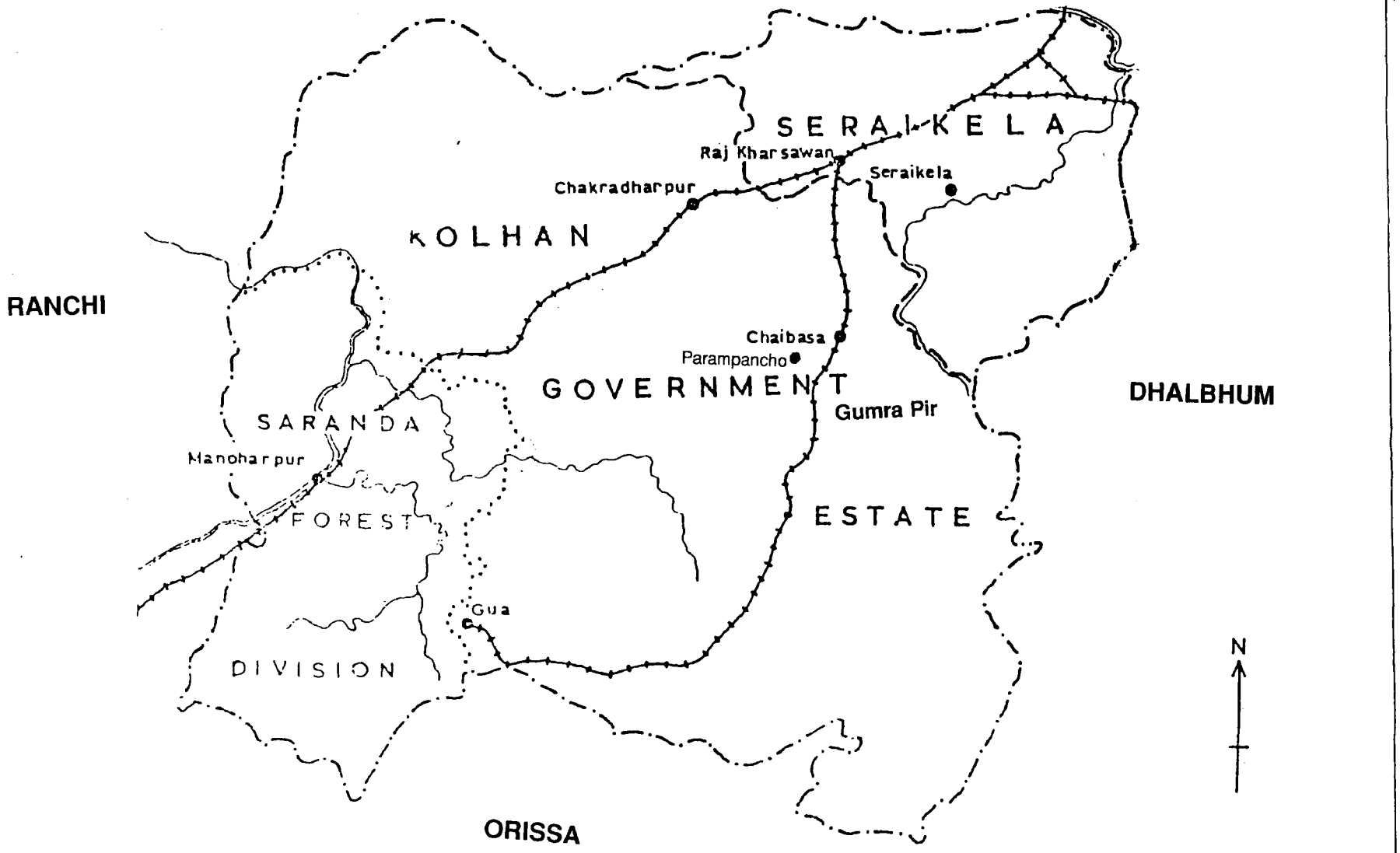
In terms of Kolhan Pir divisions, Parampancho falls in the Gumra Pir of the Kolhan[1], a Government Estate in West Singhbhum district (see Map 4.2). Within the district, it is mainly spread over the sub-divisions of Sadar, Chakradharpur and Seraikela. The Kolhan is bounded on the north by Seraikela and Kharswan (former feudatory estates), on the south by Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Bonai and Gangpur (of Orissa), on the east by Dhalbhum (now the district of East Singhbhum), and on the west by Gangpur (Orissa), Porhat and Anandpur (Majumdar, 1950: 1). The history of the Kolhan Estate goes back to British Rule when it was first created (see Section 4.4). Since then, the Kolhan has enjoyed the status of estate with constitutional recognition since 1950.

In terms of physical setting, the Kolhan forms the southern part of the Chotanagpur plateau which is an extension of the Central Plateau of India. This is an upland area full of hills and valleys dense with forests. In the south-west of the estate lies Saranda Pir also called as 'Saranda of the Seven Hundred Hills'. The Pir is well known for its forest reservation. Some parts of the upland forests have been officially declared a reserved forest area, known as the Central Indian Sal Tract. In fact the whole Kolhan region is abounded with valuable trees such as *palas*, *asan,* and *mahua.* The Ho make use of these trees for lac raising and *tusar* rearing. But in recent years deforestation is increasing. Due to rising population in the region, more land is being brought under cultivation. In terms of mineral resources, West Singhbhum district is very rich in iron ore, manganese, limestone, uranium, copper and other minerals including gold (D.S.O. Chaibasa, 1992). The rich mineral resources in the region has led to the development of industrial centre at Jamshedpur in Dhalbhum (formerly a sub-division of the old Singhbhum district).

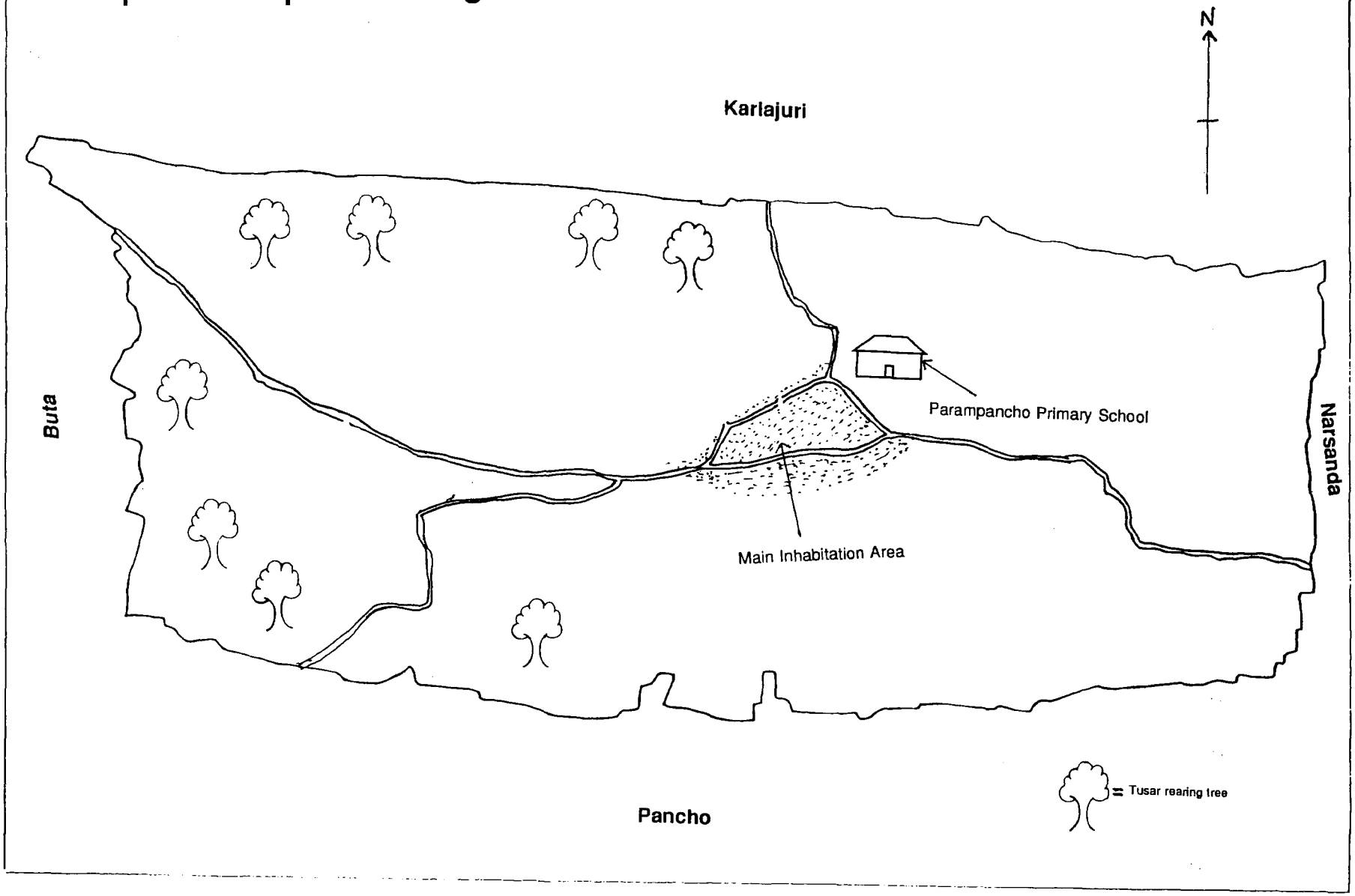
Parampancho village is situated approximately 8 kms northwest of Chaibasa, the district headquarters. Like many other tribal villages in the district, the village runs from east to west and is built on high ground (Majumdar, 1950). It is linked to the district town by a *pacca* (tarred) road (see Plate 4.1). The village is bounded on the east by Narsanda, on the west by Buta, on the north by Karlajuri, and on the south by

[1] The term Kolhan derives from the Sanskrit term *kolsthan* meaning 'the Land of the *Kols*'. The term *Kol* refers to the Ho. In historical writings, very often they have been called the *Larka Kols* signifying the fighting Ho.

4.2 Map of West Singhbhum District and Kolhan Government Estate



4.3 Map of Parampancho Village



Pancho (see Map 4.3). Viewed from Chaibasa in the east, the village begins with outlying paddy fields in the east and ends in forests on the foothills in the west. The middle of the village forms the main habitation area. The outlying northern and southern areas are low lying and suitable for fishing and paddy cultivation. Parampancho lies at the junction of sparse and dense forest. The village suffers from a high rate of deforestation, for it is close to Chaibasa, the district town. In Parampancho, forest covers only one third of the village land and is located on the hills. The rest of the land has been cleared for cultivation.

Arriving along the pitch road from the west, a large ancestral stone called *sasandiri* marks the beginning of the inhabited area of the village (see Plate 4.1). In fact there are *killi* stones bordering the main habitation area and the whole village consists of houses laid out around ancestral stones. The people in Parampancho believe that in terms of habitation, there are two types of land; one that is protected by the spirits (of the village guardian and the ancestors) and one that is not. Consequently the positioning of the houses in the village has been influenced by the positioning of the village spirit and the *sasandiri* (the gravestones). According to one villager,

> Nobody in the village builds a house which lies beyond the eyes of our *Desauli* the village guardian spirit. First of all, the *Diuri* (the village priest) decides whether the place is suitable for habitation or not bearing upon its distance from the *Desauli* and the *Sasandiri*. If someone in the village does not take into consideration such matters, he or she is bound to suffer if not in the short run certainly in the long run. And you see, in the whole Parampancho, only the school building is out of the Desauli boundary. We did not allow the government to construct the school building near our *Desauli* or *Sasandiris*.

The housing pattern in the village is on the whole uniform in terms of construction and design. Most of the houses have mud walls (98.6 per cent) and tiled roofs (87 per cent). Only two Ho have houses with brick walls. The largest number of thatched houses belongs to the Hindu service caste groups such as the Gops and the Tantis. It is to be noted that while the construction of the Ho houses in the village depends on the positioning of the *Desauli* and the *sasandiris*, the internal design of the rooms in a Ho house depends upon the positioning of the *ading* i.e. the inner room where the

ancestors are worshipped. No Ho house is without an *ading*.

> ... it is the *ading* of the house where the ancestors of the family are carefully sheltered. There is a raised dias at one corner of the *ading*, which is kept at one end of the kitchen where daily offering are made to the ancestral spirits (Majumdar, 1950: 47).

If the person is poor and has just a one room-house, a corner of the house will be reserved for ancestor worship. In most cases, the *adings* have wooden doors. Every house in the village has a verandah which is generally used as a kitchen and an open courtyard meant for cattle. The houses are usually painted saffron with a black border at the bottom and some houses have hand made drawings of animals, especially elephants (found in large numbers in the close by hills) and bows and arrows (the main Ho weapons) on the walls.

4.3 Demographic Composition

Parampancho is predominantly a Ho village. Over 85 per cent of the total population belongs to the Ho tribe (see Table 4.1). It is a larger[2] than most tribal villages (Sachhidanand, 1966) with a population of over one thousand population (1,136) but smaller than the average non-tribal village in Bihar. All the non-Ho in the village are non-tribal people, that is, the Hindu service caste groups such as the Gops, the Tantis and the Lohars.

[2] According to Sachchidanand (1966), the tribal villages in general are small in terms of population in Bihar. From several visits in the Kolhan area, it appeared to me that there are many large tribal villages in the area almost comparable to non-tribal villages in population size. I also found that larger villages were situated more in the plains than on the hilly terrain.

Table 4.1
Population in Parampancho - 1992

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
HO	969 (85.3 %)	470 (48.7 %)	499 (86.2%)
NON-HO	167 (14.7 %)	87 (15.6 %)	80 (13.8 %)
TOTAL	1136 (100 %)	557(49.2 %)	579 (58.2 %)

(Source: Household Survey - 1992)

In terms of male female ratio, the village has a larger number of females than males (males = 557; females = 579) a feature invariably absent in non-tribal villages. Even within the village, the higher male:female ratio is found among the tribal groups (males=477/ females= 499) and not the non-tribal groups (males = 87 /females = 80). The West Singhbhum district shows similar trend in terms of male/female ratio among tribal groups (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2
Population in West Singhbhum 1981 & 1991 Census

1	2	Census 1981 (3)	Census 1991 (4)	% Change (5)
1.	Total	14,82,850	17,88,614	20.6
	Male	7,49,914	9,09,651	21.3
	Female	7,32,936	8,78,963	19.9
2.	Scheduled Tribes --			
	Total	8,46,014	9,74,100	15.1
	Male	4,19,408	4,85,558	15.7
	Female	4,26,606	4,88,543	14.5
3.	Rural --			
	Total	12,66,625	15,05,476	18.8
	Male	6,32,637	7,59,596	20.0
	Female	6,33,988	7,47,880	17.9
4.	Urban --			
	Total	2,16,225	2,83,138	30.9
	Male	1,17,277	1,52,055	29.6
	Female	98,948	1,31,083	32.4

(Source: District Statistical Office, Chaibasa, 1992)

Table 4.2 shows that West Singhbhum district has a population of 1,788,614 persons consisting of 909,651 males and 878,963 females (1991 Census). Of the total population in the district, the Scheduled Tribes account for 54.4 per cent. West Singhbhum is predominantly a rural district as 85.4 per cent of its population lives in rural areas. Of the total tribal population, the majority are Ho. The demographic change (among the groups in percentage terms) over the last decade shows that the district is becoming increasingly urban and non-tribal (see Table 2). The rate of increase in the district population is higher in the urban areas (30.9 per cent) than in the rural areas (18.8 per cent), and among non-tribal groups (21.2 per cent) than among tribal groups (15.1 per cent). Such demographic change is related to the increasing influx of non-tribal migrants in the area, a trend detested by the native tribal people. In the words of a Ho of the village,

> When our ancestors first settled in the region, there were jungles everywhere in the region. They cleared the forests and made this land habitable. They dug out the stones from the fields and made them fertile. When everything was done, other people started flocking in. The *Diku* came in large numbers and opened factories. The trend is everlasting. Now in the district, there are so many *Dikus* that in the coming few years, we Adivasi will be a minority in our own homeland.

4.4 Historical Background

There are different versions of the tales concerning the first appearance of the Ho in the Kolhan, the southern part of the Chotanagpur plateau. There is general disagreement with the native assertion that the Ho are the earliest settlers in the Kolhan. Two main reasons are put forward. Firstly, the Ho speak a Mundari language which is a branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. The language has close links with the Burmese and the Cambodian languages and its roots can be traced to the Austro-Asiatic population found in other parts of the world. There have been easterly migrations across the Central Plateau of India down to the Chotanagpur plateau since the 6th century B.C. (Hoffman, 1950; Roy, 1970; Yorke, 1976). It is said that "a branch of Austro-Asiatic speaking population that are known to have developed

from a population lived on the Chotanagpur Plateau of northeastern central India" (Yorke, 1976: 128). According to Majumdar (1950: 4), their affiliation to the Munda in terms of language and culture may mean that they branched off only a few centuries ago.

Secondly, the Ho also belong to the Kolarian group of tribes along with the Mundas and the Bhumij. The Ho are often called the Larka Kols meaning the fighting Kols. The region in which the Ho are mainly concentrated is called the Kolhan (*Kol-sthan* in Sanskrit meaning *the Land of the Kols*). There are various legends about the origin of the Kols and the use of the word 'Kol'. According to one legend of the Hindu mythology:

> Yayáti divided his empire among his five sons. To Puru, the youngest, he gave India, or the middle part; to Yadu, the ancestor of Krishna, the south or the Deccan; the North to Anu; and the west, to Turvasu. The offspring of Turvasu, according to Harivansa, settled in the south, and the tenth generation from him inclusive, consisting of four brothers, Pándya, Kerala, Chola, and Kola, divided the empire they had inherited. Kola lived in the northern part of the Peninsula and his descendants are called Kols or Kolers to this day, and from them India was called *Kolaria* (Dalton, 1872: 161).

But today such a legend (relating Ho with Hindus) is considered wrong by the Ho. The Ho do not approve of any Hindu mythology tracing their origin to Hindu ancestors. They dislike being addressed as the Kols[3]. Although, there seems reliability in the claim that the Ho migrated to the Kolhan and were not the earliest settlers in the region, their long association with the land cannot be denied. Most probably they were the earliest settlers in the Gangetic valley (Dalton, 1873: 163), but they were dislodged by the Aryan Hindus. The Ho retreated to the forests in the Central Plateau of India in the 6th century B.C. They finally settled in the region

[3]One of the other reasons for the Ho resentment to use of the word 'kol' is that the word *Kol* in Sanskrit means pig. "A Ho loathes to be addressed as Kol, and when this happens, he will shrug his shoulders and mutter indignantly in protest. Similarly a Ho woman resents being addressed as *Kui*. Yet the terms have come to stay" (Majumdar, 1950: 18).

which is today called Singhbhum[4] by dislodging the Bhuiyas from the land.

There is no systematic account of Singhbhum as the main abode of the Ho in ancient literatures before the British Rule. However, there are some vague references to the region as a whole. For example,

> In the *Ramacharita*, compiled by Sandhyakarnandi, during the reign of Emperor Rampala, there is mention of an area called *Atavika-desa*, whose chief was Lakshmisura. This might be the present Singhbum, Seraikela and Kharsawan territories (Roy Chaudhary, 1958: 61).

Although various historical writings have suggested that the region has been part of various empires through the ages such as the Gupta, the Vardhana, and the Mughals (see Roy Chaudhary, 1958: 61-72), there is no strong evidence of the kind of rule to which the people of the region were subjected. It seems that the Ho never accepted the full suzerainty of the rulers before the British administration. They did not regard the Singh chiefs as rulers but as equals (Dalton, 1872; Roy Chaudhary, 1958). The Ho had their own system of administration based on the lineage-head, the village headman called *Munda* and the paramount headman called *Manki*. But these were not strongly held political identities. The political identities of the Munda-Manki system which exist today were created by the British administration (Yorke, 1976: 130). It was only during the British Rule that the socio-political nature of the region came to light. In other words, a socio-cultural formation became primarily an administrative unit (Singh, 1978: 2).

[4]The naming of Singhbhum is related to the history of the Ho in the region and there are different versions. According to one version, the term 'Singhbhum' literally means the 'land of lions'. The area was so called because in the olden days, lions were found in large numbers within its boundary. According to another version, the area has been named after the Ho supreme God called *Singbonga*. But a more reliable version supported by historical writings and archival evidence is that the area has been named after the *Singh* lineage of kings who had ruled over it for a long period of time. The writings of Huen-tsang, a Chinese pilgrim, mentions that, for a long period between the 7th century and 10th century, the region was ruled by the Kings of non-tribal *Singh* lineage. Recent archival findings have also confirmed the presence of the Singh rulers in the area. In fact many of the villages in the Kolhan were originally under the authority of non-tribal castes.

The British Colonial Period

The British connection with the Ho resulted from the trouble between the Ho and the feudal chiefs (Majumdar, 1950: 6). This dates back to 1765, when a British force marched against the then Raja of Dhalbhum (Roy Chaudhary, 1958: 73-4) and subjugated him to British rule. This followed the subjugation of other feudal chiefs such as the Thakur of Kharsawan, the Kunwar of Seraikela and the Raja of Porhat. But the subjugation of these chiefs crystallized the tribal protest against the British administration as the opponents' identities merged into one. The tribal people detested the bestowal of excessive power to the non-tribal chiefs (for example, in terms of revenue collection and policing) and the undermining of existing tribal political structures such as the Munda-Manki System. A number of tribal uprisings occurred, the most threatening of which was the Kol Insurrection of 1831 (Hallett, 1917; Jha, 1964).

Figure 4.1

The Historical Events: the Ho of West Singhbhum

Year	Events
1765	The British Invasion of Dhalbhum
1793	The agreement between the British administrator and the Thakur of Kharsawan and Kunwar of Seraikela.
1820	The acknowledgement of the Raja of Porhat as a feudatory of the British.
1821	The British occupation of the four *pirs* of Bamanghati inhabited by the Kols. The territory later came to be known as Kolhan.
1831	The Kol Insurrection.
1832	The Bhumij Rebellion. The Separation of Dhalbhum from Midnapur and its merger with the neighbouring territory of Manbhum.
1836	The Annexation of Kolhan.
1837	The Formation of the district of Singhbhum with its headquarters at Chaibasa, and the appointment of Lt. Tickel as the first British administrator at Chaibasa.
1841	The Establishment of the first Anglo-Hindi school at Chaibasa.
1846	The Transfer of Dhalbhum to Singhbhum.
1854	Ricketts' extensive land revenue survey. The designation of a government agent as commissioner and his deputy as Deputy Commissioner.
1857	The Kol participation in the 1857 Revolt. The role of the Raja of the Porhat in the Revolt.
1859	The arrest of Arjun Singh, the Raja of Porhat; and the end of the Great Revolt in the district.
1865	The Establishment of the Zila School Chaibasa
1907	The Establishment of the Iron and Steel Industry at Jamshedpur
1920	The Formation of the Dhalbhum subdivision. Extension of the Local Self-Government Act - 1885 to Singhbhum district.
1948	The Merger of Seraikela and Kharsawan in the State of Bihar.
1949	The Formation of Seraikela subdivision.
1953	The Establishment of Tata College at Chaibasa.
1956	The Transfer of Chandil, Patamada, and Ichagarh police stations of the former Manbhum to the Singhbhum district on the recommendation of the State Reorganisation Commission.
1990	The division of the Singhbhum into two districts; a) East Singhbhum and b) West singhbhum.

(Source: adapted from Bihar District Gazetteer, 1984: 5-6)

The tribe which put on the bravest face was the Ho. It is because of the military adventurism of the Ho shown during this uprising that they began to be called as the Larka Kols meaning 'fighting people.' Threatened with such uprisings, the British administration created a non-regulated area called the South Western Frontier Agency. Later the government appointed Sir Thomas Wilkinson as special agent to find an amicable solution to such tribal uprising especially among the Larka Kols in the non-regulated area. Wilkinson proposed direct administration of the delimited area under a British officer stationed at Chaibasa and recommended a series of regulations for the governance of the area. Thus,

> ...six hundred and twenty villages, with a population estimated at the time at 90,000, of whom two-thirds were Larkas or Hos, were thus brought, and have since remained, under the immediate control of the British Government, and simple rules for the administration of this new acquisition, which in all their salient and peculiar features are still in force, were drawn up and promulgated (Dalton, 1873: 182-3).

The 'Wilkinson Rules' recognized the influence and traditional authority of Munda (the village headman) and Manki (the paramount headman) of the Ho tribe. The tribal reserve which was created on the basis of the Wilkinson Rules was called the Kolhan Government Estate with its headquarters at Chaibasa.

The Post-Independence Period

After Independence in 1947, the national Indian government continued the government estate status of the Kolhan but with some modifications. The Wilkinson Rules were accepted in large measure with regard to the appointment of the Mundas and the Mankis. But between the tribal headmen and the district administrator, various intermediary government posts were created for revenue collection and policing the area. According to Yorke (1976: 152), this destroyed the paternalism of the Kolhan system. Nevertheless the administration of the Kolhan Government Estate is still based on the Wilkinson Rules but it forms part of the West Singhbhum district with its headquarters at Chaibasa. The district forms part of the Scheduled Tribal Area declared by the post-Independence Constitution of India of 1950. Parampancho is in the Kolhan Estate and has a Munda (village headman) appointed under the Wilkinson

Rules. The old people in the village tell different stories relating to historical incidents during the British Rule.

The formation of villages in the Kolhan is related, in general, to the processes of splintering of the *Killi,* hunting, clearing of forests, dwelling patterns and natural reservoirs such as rivers or streams. Parampancho was formed out of Pancho village when some members of *Kuntia Killi* moved towards the nearby hills for more hunting. Additionally, there is a mythical side of the origin of Parampancho often rehearsed by village elders. An old man in the village put it in the following way,

> The Kuntia people have been great hunters in the whole history of the Ho. Our forefathers were often on hunts on in the foothills of the Parampancho *Buru.* Once it so happened that they were without a kill for more than six months. Even the wild elephants were difficult to find. Our *Diuri* found that the *Buru Bonga* was not happy with the *Hatu Bonga* (of Pancho). Then during one night, the *Buru Bonga* came in a dream of the *Diuri* of the Pancho village and suggested him to convey the message to all the Kuntia people in the Parampancho that those who will settle beyond the Pancho *hatu* boundary will be rewarded with successful hunts. Thus, following the words of the *Diuri,* one group of *Kuntia Killi* left the Pancho village and settled in the foothills. Since then we have been living in the foothills. Since then, we have been living here.

The term 'Parampancho' meaning *'beyond Pancho'* justifies the name of the village. The village shares the history of the region along with the myths relating to the origin of the *Kuntia Killi* (See section 4.6).

4.5 Economy and Livelihood

Agriculture is the basis of village economy in the Kolhan. Parampancho, like other villages in the region, depends heavily on agriculture and paddy cultivation *(baba chasa)* dominates agricultural activities. Paddy constitutes around two thirds of all crops grown in the village as the land is suited to paddy cultivation. This also applies to other villages in the Kolhan:

> Rice is the crop most suited to the climate of the Kolhan, as there is abundant rainfall during certain parts of the year, viz., the monsoon period, when little irrigation and manuring are required for bumper crops, particularly in the low lands (Majumdar, 1950: 62).

The Ho grow three crops of rice: the early or *gora*; the autumnal or *bád*; and the late or *bera* crop (Dalton, 1873: 195) in three types of land called: a) *gora*; b) *badi*; and c) *bera* (Majumdar, 1950: 49). The quality and quantity of the paddy crops depends on the type of land available. For example, the *gora* paddy is lightweight good quality paddy which generally grows on uplands, but it is not profitable in terms of yield. It is *bera* paddy grown on *bera* land (i.e. lowland) which is valued more in the village, because it is more remunerative. *Bera* land is more fertile than the other types and farmers do not need to put on any extra manures other than the traditional fertilizers such as ashes (from the burning of hills) and cow dung.

Figure 4.2
Economic Activities in Parampancho

Chandu or Months	Economic Activities	Festivals etc.
Maghe (Jan-Feb)	Burning of hills (*Buru Lotan*) for ashes to be used as manure in the paddy land	*Maghe*, the most important Ho festival in the whole calendar year.
Matkam (Feb-Mar)	Tilling of the fields, collection of *Mahua*.	The continuous celebration of the Maghe festival in other villages.
Baha (Mar-Apr)	Sowing of paddy seeds in *Bera* land (*Longor Ote*).	*Bā* festival in celebration of the spring season flowers and fruits. *Her-mut* marking the beginning of sowing paddy seeds in the field. Calling *Baba Enga* (mother paddy or mother spirit) for good crops.
Baba Her (Apr-May)	Sowing of paddy in general for transplanting in low lands, and sowing in *Gora* lands (*Pi Ote*).	Worshipping spirits living in forests and hills.
Hero (May-June)	Weeding of paddy in *Gora* or uplands, making embankment	*Hero* Festival. Sacrifice of goats to the village *Desauli*.
Goma (June-July)	Transplantation of paddy. Weeding in some fields. Repairing of embankments.	*Batauli* Festival for better harvest, better grains.
Indi (Jul-Aug)	Sowing of *Kurti* (Urd), *Saguja* and tilling of Gora lands.	*Jamnama* Festival.
Jamnama (Aug-Sept)	Cutting of *Gora* paddy and *Gundli* (a kind of cereal).	The Jamnama i.e. partaking of the new crop.
Baba Irr (Sept-Oct)	Harvesting of paddy. Threshing, collecting the paddy in *kalyan*, sowing of pulses, *Mussari* and *Gehu*.	*Kalam* Festival.
Sardi (Oct-Nov)	Harvesting of paddy from the low lands, and the same occupations as detailed above.	
Kalam (Nov-Dec)	Hay is brought home and stacked for use.	*Kalom Utandi* (the completion of the grain storage) The worship of Desauli, *Singbonga*, and *Marang Bonga*.
Makara (Dec-Jan)	Tilling of *Gora* lands. Ploughing in the cold weather is called *Rabangnail* (Cold plough).	

(Adapted from Majumdar, 1950: 65)

Most of the Ho festivals are based on the growth of the paddy crops (see Figure 4.2). The main festivals related with the paddy crops are *Hera-mut* (marking the beginning of sowing paddy seeds), *Hero* (marking the completion of the sowing), *Batauli* (better harvest), *Jamnama* (the partaking of new paddy crop), *Kalam* (for the completion of grain storage) and lastly, but most importantly, *Maghe* (giving thank for the last successful paddy cultivation). They celebrate their festivals with handia (beer made of rice) (see Plate 4.15) These festive rituals bend the Ho peasants in a co-operative unit (see 4.13). For instance, no farmer can sow paddy before *Her-mut.* If anyone does, they are always brought before the village elders.

Over 50 per cent of the paddy cultivators in the Parampancho village are marginal farmers and do not grow enough crops for the whole year. They depend on other economic activities, such as tusar rearing and lac raising. Although these are only supplementary to the earnings from paddy cultivation, they have a long association with Ho socio-economic activities.

Tusar Rearing

Tusar is a type of silk produced by wild silkworms. Tusar rearing is a characteristic tribal economic activity associated mainly with the Ho of West Singhbhum district. Over 50 per cent of the total tusar silk produced in India comes from West Singhbhum and over 90 per cent of tusar rearers are tribal people (Bihar Tusar Directorate, 1992; see Chapter 3). The tribal people grow tusar in a natural setting on the asan, arjun and palas trees found in the forest areas using skills acquired though their long association with the forest. It is not just earning money that matters, it is the socio-economic context within which such rearing takes place that is important to the Ho. There are many religious rituals associated with the rearing activities. For example,

> ...it is a taboo to touch a woman while engaged in cocoons. The men retire to a quiet part of the forest, and make their temporary sheds, and follow their profession unhampered by happenings outside. During the period, men live on a special diet, and practice sexual continence. Stories about the violation of this taboo, and how the entire crop was destroyed as a result thereof, are recited by the Ho to serve as warnings to the people (Majumdar, 1950: 69).

The scale of tusar cultivation in the region has decreased with deforestation. In Parampancho, tusar rearing forms an important socio-economic activity. Even though in 1991-92 only 22 Ho reared tusar, several Ho in the village had done tusar rearing sometime in the past (see Plates 4.7 and 4.8). These rearers grow tusar on the asan trees found on the outskirts of the village. Though the rearing is attributed to one person in a household, it requires the direct and indirect involvement of all the members of the household. In terms of the marketing of tusar, the village economy is integrated into the regional or national economy. They sell their raw cocoons in the market mostly to known middlemen. The middlemen sell these cocoons to the government marketing centres at a higher price. Despite several governmental measures to promote tusar rearing among the tribal people in the district, it has not been successful. Every year, in villages like Parampancho, many tusar farmers are leaving their age-old tribal occupation due to lack of genuine support from the government.

Besides tusar rearing, livestock production is another significant source of cash in the village. Almost all the Ho rear chickens and ducks for cash. It was interesting to find that the Ho rear cocks and hens but do not eat eggs themselves. They domesticate cows and buffalo but do not milk them. Instead, both cows and oxen are used for ploughing the land.

Division of Labour

One of the main features of the economic sphere of life of the Ho in Parampancho is the women's active participation in agriculture and other economic activities. Unless ritually barred from activities (such as ploughing, tusar rearing and making bows and arrows) Ho women do everything a man does (see Plate 4.2). In fact, according to an old man in the village,

> ...our all earnings and betterment depend upon our women. If they do not work, we will go hungry. Men generally waste their time drinking excess amounts of *handia* or *diang*. Women work more than any man in the village. But this is not just in this village, this applies to the all the Ho women. This is one of the factors why a man has to pay bride-price to marry a woman.

In Parampancho, there was always a complementarity between men and women. The Ho women do heavy work like digging land and more skilful work like making clay bricks. Figure 4.3 on the division of labour between men, women and children among the Ho in the region devised by Majumdar (1950) also applies to the Ho in Parampancho.

Figure 4.3
Division Of Labour in Parampancho

Men	Women	Children
Making of embankments, ridges and digging earth. Making musical instruments, bows and arrows, weapons for fishing, nets and traps.	Carrying loads. Carrying soil. Supplying stones, gravel, earth etc. for repairing dams and making ridges.	Bird catching and fowling, tending of cattle. Fishing in shallow water and carrying receptacle for fish.
Making *Bandi* and baskets	Plaiting of mats and baskets. Barter and sale of agricultural produce and marketing. Making of leaf-plates and leaf-cups for distributing food and Diang. Rope making.	Collecting Mahua. Helping father or mother in agriculture and domestic work.
Fresh-water fishing, hunting and bird snaring.	Fishing, drying and preserving.	
Cutting and felling of trees and bamboo. Driving carts or dragging Sagar. Thatching of houses, making wicker hedges and wooden and doors carving.	Making mud walls, plastering and painting them. Weeding, transplanting, harvesting, threshing, husking rice and oil pressing.	Collecting Lac Looking after the Tusar worms on the trees.
Harvesting, threshing, husking rice and oil pressing. Ploughing, harrowing, winnowing. Planting of trees. Fetching the Sasandiris. Rearing and collection of lac or cocoons. Curing leather for making musical instruments.	Fetching water, collecting fuel, cooking, collecting Mahua, drying and storing Mahua and Kusum.	Looking after cocoons.
Cock-fighting . Labour in mines and plantations. Sale of lac. Collection of forest produce.	Needle work, decoration and mud walls. Labour in mines and roadway constructions. Women are now employed as masons and diggers as well.	Working as servants to look after cattle.

(Source: adapted from Majumdar, 1950: 52)

Figure 4.3 indicates that making embankments, bows and arrows, fishing nets, hunting, cutting trees, thatching, harvesting, lac and tusar cultivation etc. are some of the jobs taken over by men. Women carry loads, sell surplus produce, weed, transplant and fetch water and collect fuel, cook, clean house and rear children. In paddy cultivation, men generally do the ploughing and sowing, and women do the transplanting and weeding. Ho children share the burden of work too, such as tending cattle, fishing in shallow water, collecting *mahua* and lac, and helping their mothers look after their siblings. They learn various skills in the company of their parents and elders. The Ho children in the village were found very active in learning archery.

> When the child grows up to be a boy he goes out with his bow and arrow and shoots at small birds that perch on twigs, and then puts the spoil into the fire, roasts and eats it. He learns also to catch insects, grub and birds, which he shares with his companions. He follows his father, brothers, and cousins into the forest, climbs the trees, and collects fruits and roots which supplement their limited diet (Majumdar, 1950: 81).

For the sale and purchase of goods within the village, there is a system of barter-type system. The Ho exchange goods for goods, goods for services and services for services. The wages are not paid in cash but in kind and often the services are mutual because the self-sufficiency of the village has not been fully broken. Most of the people in the village need only a little bit of cash in order to, for example, pay land revenues. They never keep cash with them or go to banks for any cash transaction. For example, if they need tobacco, salt, or *ranu* for making *diang*, they exchange it for paddy or rice.

Mangla Hat (Tuesday Weekly market):

The Tuesday market is an important economic institution of the Ho in the Kolhan. Every Tuesday, all the villages in the region prepare themselves for selling and purchasing for the whole week. There are two types of Tuesday market: a) the Chaibasa town market (*dongol hato*) and b) the village market (*hurin hat*) (see Plate 4.9). The former is the largest of its kind in the whole of West Singhbhum district and people from distant villages come to it. The small Tuesday village markets are

supplementary to the main market. These markets are tribal in character, as they serve various purposes for the tribal communities in the region.

> The chief attraction in these markets, besides the buying and selling of agricultural produce and the petty needs of the rural people, is the liquor booths which sell cheap intoxicants... They also serve as centres for matrimonial negotiations, and many of the *Oportipi* (marriage by capture) and *Rajikhusi* (marriage by mutual consent) matings are planned and effected at these markets and fairs (Majumdar, 1950: 53).

Like many other villages, Parampancho has its own Tuesday market which takes place just at the opening gate near the village around the *sasandiri* (gravestones). The people who sell their goods are from the village itself. Usually small surpluses are sold in this market, but it serves more as a recreation centre. The main product sold in the market is *diang* (rice beer). The larger surplus goods are sold in the *Dongol Hato* (the Chaibasa Town market) where besides selling rice, wood and chicken, they buy their necessities such as salt, oil and cloths. The *Dongol Hato* also provides the opportunity for the villagers to earn cash. It is also the place where the rural Ho come to terms with the sophisticated *Diku* economy. Besides the opening of mines and factories in the region and the establishment of government offices, the weekly markets like the *Dongol Hato* have helped the outside cash economy to penetrate the village barter system.

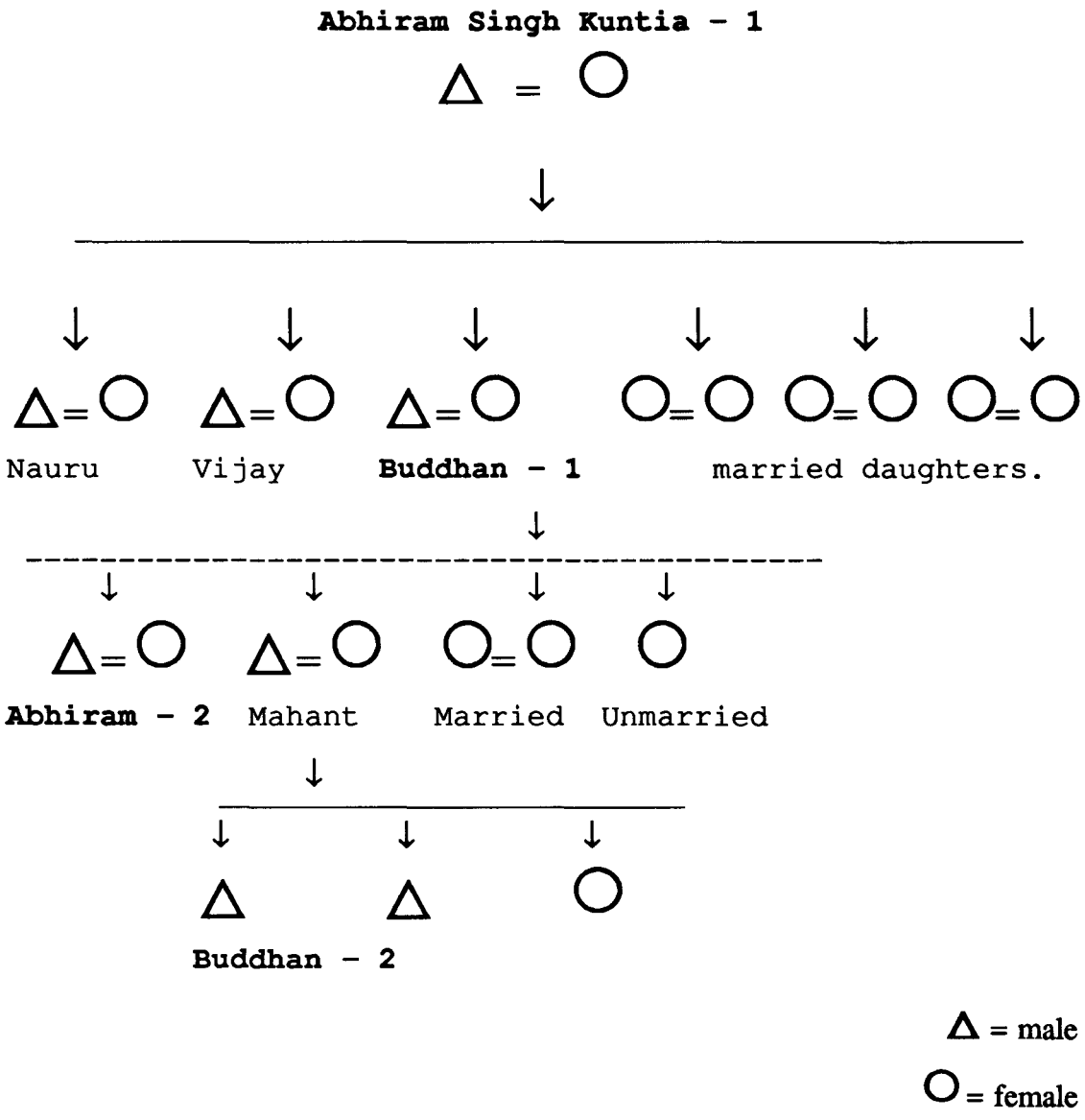
4.6 Social Structure

Ho society is characterized by a distinctive clan system, a system of marriage, and distinctive attitudes towards birth and death. The Ho are divided into a number of exogamous clans called *killis* which take their names from animals, plants, or material objects. Most of the villages in the Kolhan are formed on the basis of killi. The Ho in Parampancho belong mainly to the Kuntia Killi.

Just as in any other village in the region, the Ho in Parampancho are patrilineal and patrilocal. Property, often land, is inherited from father to son. Each son gets an

equal share, but the eldest gets a little more than the others because he supports the family for a longer period than the younger sons. He must look after the family after his father's death; pay *gonong* (bride-price) for his brothers and look after his unmarried sisters. A girl is entitled to maintenance until she gets married. A widow is not entitled to inherit her husband's property. If a man dies, his property will be inherited by his children not his wife. However the widow is entitled to maintenance as long as she lives in her husband's family. Figure 4.4 shows the case of circulation of names in alternate generations in a Ho family in Parampancho.

Figure 4.4
Circulation of Names in Alternate Generations



Birth: In Parampancho, as soon as a child is born, the father sacrifices a cock to *Singbonga*, the tribal god. After the birth, parents are regarded as impure for a certain period during which they do not eat with or touch any of their relatives or neighbours. At the end of the period, a feast is organised when the child's head is shaved and it receives a name. The eldest son is usually called after his grandfather (see Figure 4.4)

> After the birth of a child, both mother and father are considered unclean, '*bisi*,' for eight days, during which period the members of the family are sent out of the house, the husband has to cook for his wife... At the expiry of the eight days, the banished members of the family return, friends are invited to a feast, and the child is ceremoniously named. The name of the grand-father is usually given to the first born son...(Dalton, 1873: 191).

Marriage: Ho in Parampancho cannot marry within the Kuntia Killi and any violation of this rule is regarded as incest. Furthermore, Ho cannot marry outside of the Ho tribe as this will undermine Ho solidarity. There are various types of marriage among the Ho of which the most common are:

1. *Andi* (ceremonial marriage);
2. *Diku-andi* (ceremonial marriage of the Hindu type);
3. *Oportipi* (marriage by capture);
4. *Rajikhusi* (marriage by love);
5. *Anader* (marriage by intrusion).

In the first two, the ceremonial aspect is extremely important while in the other three it is practically absent. The payment of *gonong* or bride-price is essential and the families who pay bride price for their sons and have *andi* marriage command respect in the society. Today *andi*, or the ceremonial type of marriage, is becoming less and less important, as it involves a heavy financial transaction in the form of bride-price. Since the bride-price asked for is often too high, many girls remain unmarried. In 1991 in Parampancho, there were unmarried women in almost every household. Today because of the high bride price and expenses of marriage, many young boys and girls prefer *rajikhusi* marriage. With this they avoid the burden of the bride price.

Death: The Ho show a great respect for death. After death, the body is either buried or cremated. After cremation, the bones of the deceased are ceremoniously carried to the *sasan* (graveyard) in a procession. And after interment, a tombstone is placed on top of the grave and the departed soul is believed to unite with the souls of his/her dead ancestors.

The Household Unit and its Developmental Cycle

The basic socio-economic unit of a village is the household. Its nature and composition goes into developmental transformation with the inclusion and exclusion of its members. The old household splinters into different parts, as its members start their own conjugal and socio-economic endeavours. The process continues as the household performs its basic function of conjugal union, reproduction and child rearing. There are three different phases in the developmental cycle of households.

Phase 1. Onset: The first phase of a household starts with the marriage, when a new member joins the household. The married couple is given a separate room within the house. Later on they start building their own house for the children they will bring into this world. Since marriage among the Ho is often virilocal, the bride stays in her husband's father's house. The couple live with the husband's parents and depend largely on the husband's parents assistance.

Phase 2. Separate Dwelling: The second phase of the household starts when a baby is born to the couple. Consequently, they realise the necessity of starting their own economic pursuits. They build their own house and begin to live separately. They cook their own rice and *diang* (rice beer). In Parampancho, the developmental cycle of the Ho household is dependent on its subsistence economy. The couple have to look for their own subsistence. Thus, a new household begins its economic endeavour at another level of subsistence.

Phase 3. Division of the Parental Unit: The final separation of the household comes when the father gives the married son his share of the local lineage land (Yorke, 1976: 79). In most cases, the division of the lineage land is formal, that is, under the watch of the *munda* (village headman) and the clan elders. The division is made complete by the setting of the *ading* or ancestral shrine within the new house.

Thus, the cycle continues when the children of the new household get married and start their own household. Most of the Ho households in Parampancho are based on a nuclear family, even when the land belongs to the lineage. In the whole village, out of 142 households, only 6 have joint families. However this analysis shows only a simplified version of the formation of Ho households in Parampancho. Not all households follow the same pattern. The cyclical process of the development of households in the village is often complicated by the second marriages, and girls remaining unmarried due to high bride prices.

> A Ho cannot dispose of land in any way he chooses. The land does not belong to him absolutely, it is hereditary and inalienable, and must descend to his sons and grandsons. If a Ho has no direct male issue, the land goes to his brother, or next of kin, and if there is no kin, to the village community represented by the Munda. If a man dies leaving a widow, or a daughter, she is entitled to maintenance from the next male relative who takes the land (Majumdar, 1950: 49-50).

Tribal communities are by definition egalitarian groups. However Parampancho village shows growing social divisions based on education and the modern job market. Some of the Ho have taken advantage of modern education and the government reservation policy and have found jobs in government offices and factories. In fact, the whole village is divided into two *tola* or *sai* in terms of the influence of modern education and other outside influences, the *Kuti sai* and the *Diuri sai*. The members of the former show a greater exposure to modern education and jobs, the latter seem to be lagging behind in these matters. The former show a relaxed approach to dealing with all the Diku innovations such as the Panchyayat system, mines and factories. They try to participate in these spheres, while the *Diuri sai* Ho are more inward

looking. They believe in the old age Ho tradition and find difficult to deal with the *Dikus*.

Furthermore, to understand tribal solidarity among the Ho in Parampancho, it is important to understand the notion of *Diku*. Like the many tribal groups in the Chotanagpur plateau, the use of the term *Diku* is widespread among the Ho in Kolhan. In fact all the Mundari speaking groups refer to themselves with one or another variation of the term *Ho, Hor, Horo* - 'the people', while outsiders are called *Diku* which carries the implication of 'cunning usurious foreigners' (Majumdar, 1950; Yorke, 1976). The word *Diku* is a generic term for various functional groups belonging to the category of outsiders as perceived by the tribal groups (Singh, 1985: 149)

> The notion of *Diku* is of special significance in the Indian context in that the concept sets particular tribes virtually apart from the totality of the Hindu-dominated Indian civilization... In the Chotanagpur tribal context, the entire Hindu world outside Chotanagpur appears to sections of the tribals to the world of *Diku*, of the 'foreigners' (Sinha, et al., 1969: 132-3).

4.7 Linguistic Affinity

The Ho speak a language which bears no resemblance to any of the Indo-Aryan languages such as Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali or the European languages such as English or French. It is classified as a member of the Austro-Asiatic group extending over to Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia and Vietnam. Ho, in fact, is a dialect generally subsumed under the subgroup of languages called Mundari which are spoken by the north-eastern and central Indian tribes such as the Munda, Santal, and Bhil (Yorke, 1976).

Ho is the lingua-franca in the Kolhan and even the language of the non-tribals in villages of the region. Parampancho is no exception. However some villagers have exposure to the Hindi language due to education and contact with non-tribal people.

But only the educated people in the village can speak, read and write Hindi. In a household survey, such people constituted only 15 per cent of the population. The villagers only speak Hindi when in contact with the outsiders.

4.8 Administration and Politics

There is a two-tier tribal and national system of administration in the Kolhan. The tribal administration relates to the Kolhan Government Estate based on the Munda-Manki system established during the Colonial period. The national system is the Village Panchayat Administration established after Independence. The two administrative systems operate in the region under the constitutional provisions of the Scheduled Area. According to Yorke (1976), the two systems of administration are incompatible and are in competition.

> Generally speaking it can be said that the culture of all the aboriginal groups has caused them to retreat from any form of political estate under which they would be subject to possible exploitation by a sovereign power (Yorke, 1976: 1).

The Ho have a system which groups a number of villages into a larger unit under the authority of the divisional headman. Such a headman is known as *Manki*. Before the introduction of the British administration, the office of the *Manki* existed only in those parts of the Ho country which owed allegiance or paid village rents to a neighbouring chief.

From 1828 onwards, as the Ho came gradually under a uniform system of government, *Mankis* with definite rights and duties were appointed in all areas as government representatives for units larger than the village. They were chosen on the grounds of the influence they wielded in their neighbourhood. They were also responsible to the government for the timely payment of rent from those under their control and for the maintenance of law and order. Additionally, they had the obligation of reporting crimes such as theft, murder or robbery to the proper authorities. They were

empowered to arbitrate and make decisions in cases of insult and assault which were too minor to go before the District Officer. But the *Manki* had to keep the latter informed about his decisions. The *Munda* of each village was directly responsible to the *Manki* in all above-mentioned matters. The *Manki* could arrest a person whom the District Officer wanted to apprehend, and it was his duty to produce the offender before the authorities. In the absence of the *Munda*, the *Manki* could appoint a deputy to perform the duties of the Munda. Official remuneration for the services of the *Manki* was one-tenth of the total revenue of the area.

Today the *Manki's* jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases has been curtailed but he still decides cases of adultery and desertion by a wife. Thus, the *Manki* holds a position that is particular among divisional headmen in Chotanagpur. It is mainly the Ho that have such an apparent hierarchy and differentiation of status between householders. Currently, the responsibility for law and order has been taken over by the regular police.

Parampancho also shows the strains of the existence of the two-tier system in the village in the non-implementation of many governmental projects and schemes. The *Munda* has remained just a titular village head. Most of his powers have been curtailed. Originally the *Munda* was the custodian of the village land. He now collects rent (see Plate 4.10) with the assistance of the *tahsildar* and *dakua* and he is also responsible for any crime within the village. In cases of epidemics in the village, he organizes vigilance parties for warding off disease and transferring it to other areas. He settles all disputes with the help of clan elders (see Plate 4.11), arranges the dates of the festivals and oversees the general welfare of the people.

4.9 Religion

The religion of the Ho has been termed *Bongaism* (Majumdar, 1950: 264). A *bonga* is a power or force which pervades all space and is shapeless. It can take any form. The sun, moon, mountain or stream become *bonga* by virtue of possessing this power

and not by themselves. The Ho believe that natural objects exercise both benevolent and malevolent influence on their life and happiness. The supreme god, who is the creator of the universe, is the *Sinbonga*. *Bongaism*, though preserved mainly through oral tradition is systematic on many counts. It has its own version of the creation of the world and the origin of the human race.

> Ote Boŕám and Sing Bonga were self created, and they made the earth with rocks and water, and they clothed it with grass and trees, and then with wild beasts. When all was thus prepared for the abode of man, a boy and a girl were created, and Singbonga placed them in a cave at the bottom of a great ravine and finding them to be too innocent to give hope of progeny, he instructed them in the art of making 'Illi' rice beer which excites the passion and thus the world became peopled (Dalton, 1873: 185).

Besides these, they worship the *Desauli-Bonga* (village god) and his consort, *Jahira-Buru*, the spirit of the Sacred Grove. In their homes, they worship the spirit of the house and their ancestors. All these spirits require continuous propitiation by means of sacrifice and unless such offerings are made to these *bongas*, they may use their power for evil purposes. These benevolent deities are propitiated by the *Diuri* (village priest). The malevolent deities are propitiated by *Deonra* (saman). However it is to be noted that although in some occasions, *Diuri* can do the propitiation for both deities, but *Deonra* cannot do the same. Illness, for instance, is usually regarded as due to the influence of a *bonga*. The more serious and lengthy the disease, the greater the value of the animal that must be sacrificed. Dalton (1873: 188) gives a general picture of the Ho deities in the following,

> Every village in its vicinity has a grove reputed to be a remnant of the primeval forest left intact for the local gods when the clearing was originally made. Here *Desauli*, the tutelary deity of the village and his wife, Jhár-Era or Mabúrú, are supposed to sojourn when attending to the wants of their votaries. There is a *Desauli* in each village and his authority does not extend beyond the boundary of the village which his grove belongs; if a man of that village cultivates land in another village, he must pay his devotion to the *Desauli* of both. The grove deities are held responsible for the crops, and are especially honoured at the great agricultural festivals. They are also appealed to in sickness.

The Parampancho Ho worship their *bonga* and *Jahira Buru.* The Ho priest *(Diuri)* enjoys considerable influence in the religious life of the village but there is also considerable awareness and influence of non-tribal religious activities carried out by non-tribal people in the village. Unlike many tribes in India, the Ho have been profoundly influenced by the Hindu culture through contacts at big weekly markets and through work in mines and factories. In many cases, they have adopted some Hindu deities and festivals.

Ho religion today cannot be understood without reference to their contact with other religious groups, mainly Hindus and Christians. The Ho have a long association with Hindu cast groups (see Section 4.4). Some of them such as the Gop and the Tanti have been living alongside them for a long time. Furthermore they have also been influenced by voluntary agencies such as the Bhartiya Adimjati Seva Sangha (a voluntary organisation mainly influenced by Hindu ideology) and Christian missionaries. Although there are no Christian Ho in the village, the educational impact of the Christian missions can be heard in things the Ho say as some Ho in the village have had a few years of formal education in the Christian missions schools.

Figure 4.5
Modern Items in the Parampancho Village

Modern Items	Comment on the items.
1.Heavy rice machines (two)	While one belongs to the Munda of the village, the other is owned by a rich farmer. (But only the Munda's machine is working, the other one has been out of action for months due to some technical problems).
2. Telephone (one)	This is a public telephone for the *Panchayat* in the village. It was installed in 1991, following the 1985 government recommendation that all the panchayats would be connected by telephone. (But the telephone is not working, as some of the poles in the village were uprooted during the storm at the beginning of 1992.)
3. Tarred road	There is a tarred road through the middle of the village and is connection to the main highway. The road was built during the 1990s' elections when Bagun Samburai (who hails from Buta, the nearby village) became a minister in the state government after being elected from the region. (The condition of the road has deteriorated since his defeat in the last elections.
4. A video	It is located in a house run by a drop-out from the military services. He makes a living out of showing popular Hindi movies. It is an evening entertainment for the unemployed youth in the village.
5. Modern vehicles	There are bicycles in almost each houses. Bicycles are used mainly by the tribal people to sell woods in the Chaibasa town. (The sale of wood in the town is one of the main reasons of deforestation in the village and the region.) Some Ho have motorcycles as well, The motorcycles are used mainly by people working in the government services.
6. Electricity	There is the likelihood of electricity in the village in future, as the poles have been erected. However the villagers are not very optimistic because it is 5 years since the poles were erected.
7 Radio	Some villagers have radios. While the younger ones use them mainly for listening Hindi movie songs, the old people use them for news.
8. Television	Besides the video-man, one person in the village was reported to have a television set which runs occasionally and on batteries.
9. Shops (two)	The Public Distribution Shop is run by a retired police (Ho); and there is a general shop run by a Gop (Non-Ho) man.

Figure 4.6
Parampancho Village: The Tribal and Non-Tribal Features

Criteria	Tribal Features	Non-Tribal Features	Parampancho: Its Features
1. Setting and settlement	1. hilly, undulating, deep valleys; scattered settlement	1. flat land; compact settlement	1. a) Parampancho is a village with both flat and hilly land. Around one fourth of the village land lies on the Parampancho *buru* (hill). In fact, the village is bounded on its northeast by the hill. But the village has plenty of plain land because of the clearing of forests. b) Unlike non-tribal villages, Parampancho has a low population density. But unlike many tribal villages in the region, the dwellings are comparatively less scattered. Only four or five house were found in its outskirts.
2. Demographic Composition	2. small	2. large	2. In comparison to average tribal village in the region, Parampancho is large but is medium sized when compared with non-tribal villages.
3. Historical Background	3. the British Rule: the most important period in Ho history	3. seeks its firm roots in the ancient and medieval period	3. Parampancho shares the history of the region. It shows the impact of the both the British Rule and post-Independence national rule. Furthermore, village myths relate to the formation of the village.
4. Economy and the livelihood	4. hunting, food gathering, settled undiversified farming	4. diversified farming	4. Paddy cultivation is the main basis of the agricultural economy in the village. The farming in general is not diversified. The paddy crops depend mainly on monsoon rains.
5. Linguistic Affinity	5. confined to the native language	5. wide exposure to the national languages such as the Hindi	5. The Parampancho people have little exposure to Hindi. Only educated people in the village know speaking in Hindi. But they speak Hindi only when they go out of the village.
6. Social Structure	6. homogeneous; egalitarian	6. heterogeneous; stratified	6 a) Parampancho is, to a large extent, homogeneous with Ho comprising over 85 per cent of the population. But there are also non-tribal groups. b) With increasing industrialization and urbanization in the region, the village has been further diversified in terms of occupation and education. The village shows group alignment in terms of occupation and educational attainment.
7. Administration and Politics Factions Leadership	7. Tribal Village Administration System	7. Village Panchayat System	7. Parampancho follows both the Tribal and the National Panchayat system. While following the Tribal system, the village has a village head called *Munda* appointed under the *Munda-Manki* system and a Panch following the National Panchayat system. Further, while judicial powers within the village are vested in the Munda, the powers relating to developmental works in the village are exercised by the Panchayat representatives.
8. Religion	8. Bongaism	8. Hinduism, Christianity and Islam	8. Parampancho has a tribal village deity worshipped by both tribal and non-tribal people. Both tribal and non-tribal people in the village participate in tribal festivals such as Maghe, Bā, Hero, etc. But non-tribal groups in the village Gops, Tantis, Kandaits have the freedom to profess their own religion. Furthermore, there is growing awareness among the Ho of their religious identities with respect to Hinduism, Christianity and other religions in the region.

4.10 Conclusion

Parampancho provides an example of the convergence of features from both Ho tribal society and non-tribal Diku society (see Figure 4.6). The village is both surrounded by hills and jungle and has a comparatively large chunk of lowland suitable for paddy cultivation. In comparison to other tribal villages in the region, Parampancho is large but is still smaller than the average non-tribal villages of northern Bihar. The village shares the history of the Kolhan region in terms of the continuance of the Munda-Manki system. Today village administration is subject to both this system and the national system. The village economy is dependent on paddy cultivation, but it is not as diversified as that of non-tribal villages. In terms of language affiliation, the village has a meagre exposure to Hindi, the national language. In terms of social structure, there is variation in marriage patterns but a uniformity in terms of the observance of marriage and death rituals. The religious affairs of the Ho in the village centre around the Ho deities such as the *Singbonga* and the *Desauli*. But they show tolerant attitudes to religious practices of the Hindu service caste groups whom they have allowed to take shelter in the village as they serve for the benefit of the Ho people in the village. On the whole, socio-economic conditions in Parampancho are undergoing a process of change and the village has been strongly affected by industrialization and urbanization in the region as shown by the use of modern items by the Ho in the village (see Figure 4.5; Plates 4.16 and 4.17). Parampancho is thus, "the Ho tribal village in transition" (Majumdar, 1950). Nevertheless, the Ho maintain a strong sense of their Ho identity and distinguish themselves from *Diku*, or 'outsiders'. They maintain their language, their clan system and religious practices, even in the face of a decrease in traditional Ho economic practices such as tusar rearing.

Plate 4.1 The *hora* (path) into Parampancho.

Plate 4.2 Ho woman coming from the paddy field after a day's work.

Plate 4.3 Ho woman weaving a sleeping mat.

Plate 4.4 Three senior Ho men involved in making a *karkom* (bed) .

Plate 4.5 Ho man showing his woven fish net.

Plate 4.6 Ho father and son fishing in the *gara* (river).

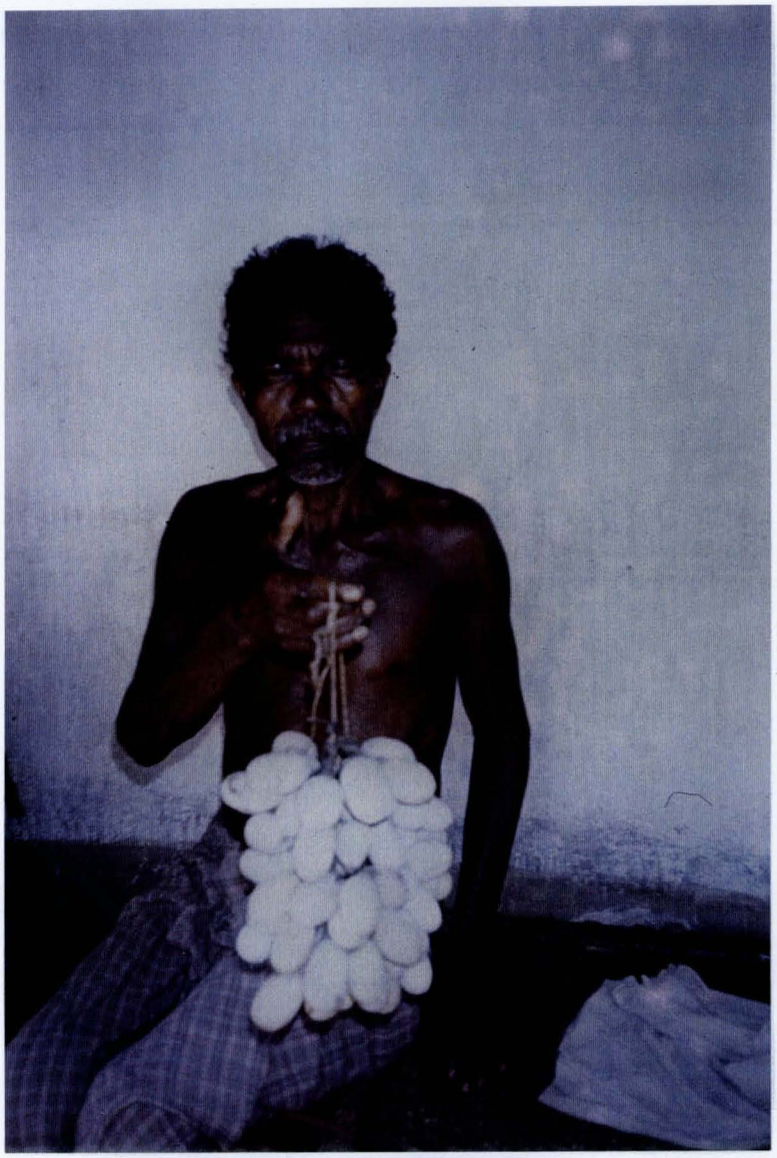


Plate 4.7 The *Diuri* (Ho priest) with his seed cocoons for the next rearing.

Plate 4.8 A silkworm rearer with his seed cocoons for the next rearing.

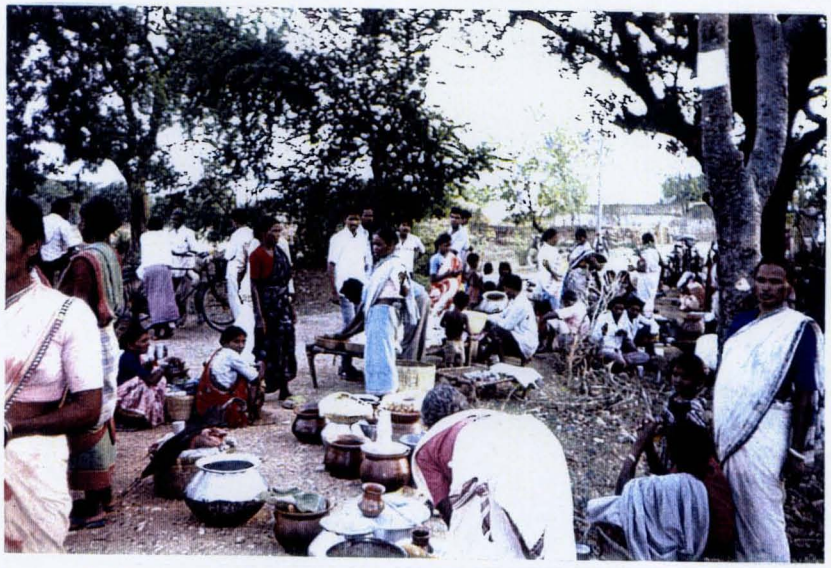


Plate 4.9 The *Mangala Haṭ* (Tuesday market) in Parampancho.

Plate 4.10 The *Munḍa* (village headman) going through the details of revenue collection.

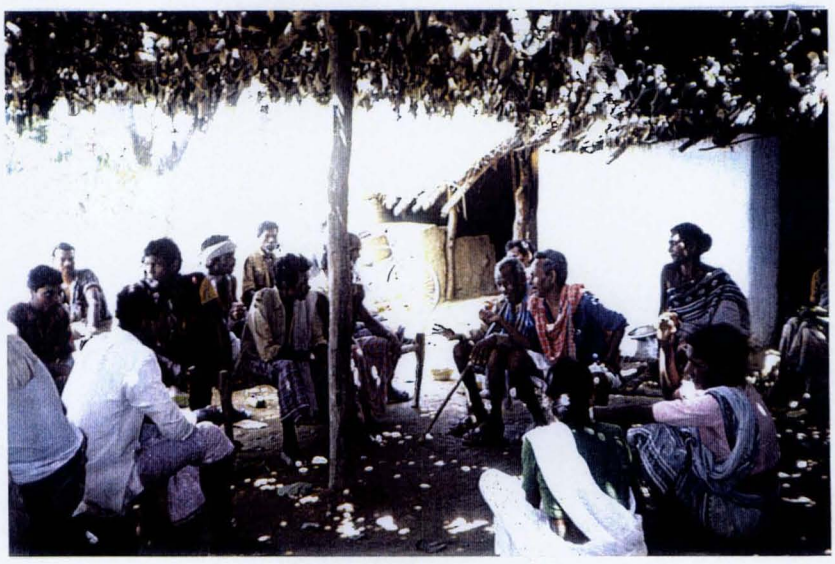
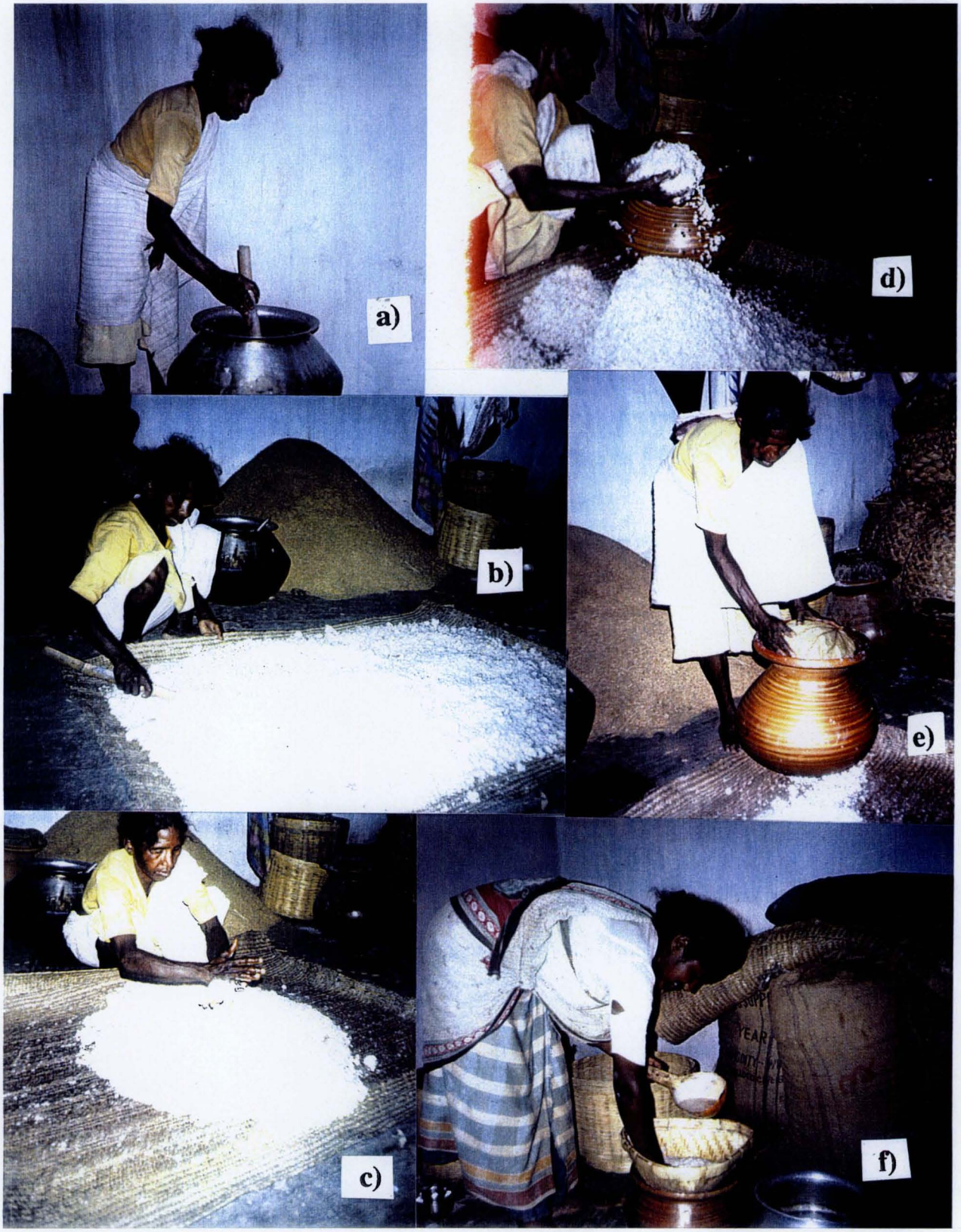


Plate 4.11 A *dunub* (meeting) of clan elders to solve a land dispute.

Plate 4.12 The *Diuri* (Ho priest) sacrificing a chicken at the alter of *Sinbonga* (their supreme deity) during the *Bā* (flower) festival.

Plate 4.13 Ho men and women dancing during the *Maghe* festival.

Plate 4.14 The *jom-nū* (Ho feast) on the death of an old man.



Plates 4.15 (a-f) **Making *diyan or handia* (rice-beer):** **a)** cooking rice, **b)** drying the cooked rice on a mat, **c)** mixing *ranu* (a herbal medicine) with the rice, **d)** storing the rice in an earthen pot, **e)** covering the mouth of the pot with leaves for two or three days to ferment, **f)** straining the liquid from the fermented rice.

Plate 4.16 The village shop which sells items such as soap, salt and *bidi*.

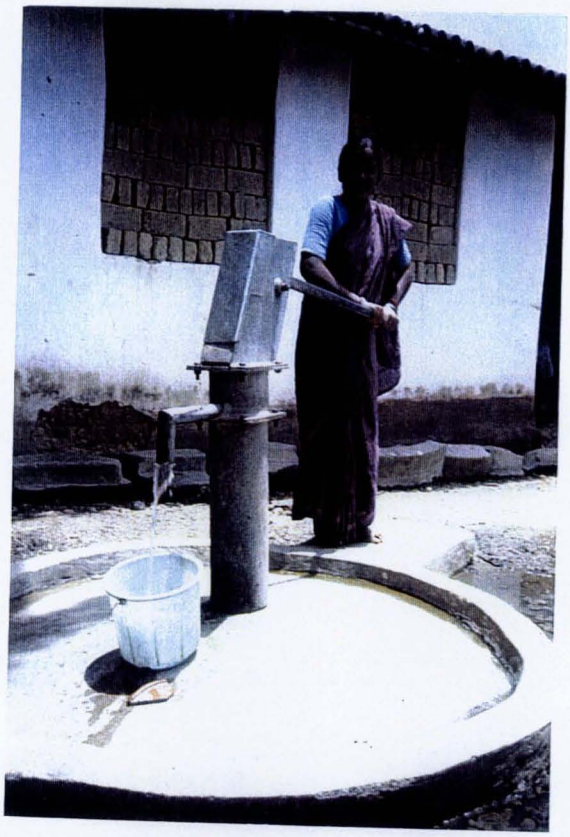


Plate 4.17 Ho woman pumping water from the tube-well built by the state government.

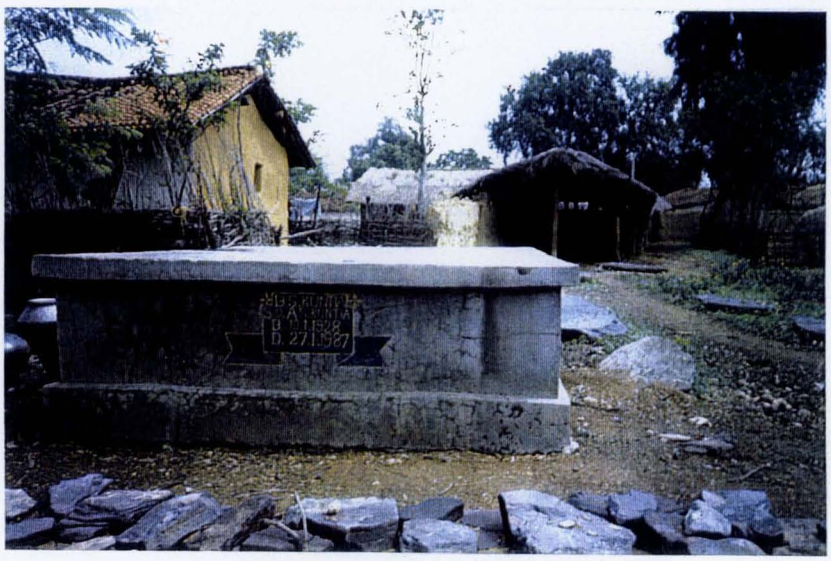


Plate 4.18 A modern *sasan* (Ho burial place) in the village alongside the house of the

Chapter 5
The Parampancho Primary School and Drop-outs

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, we described the village of Parampancho and it emerged that the village is in the process of transition, that is, the village shows the impact of non-tribal cultures in various forms. The village also shows the impact of modernization and one of the vehicles of modernization is modern formal education. In this chapter, we shall describe the Parampancho Primary School, first highlighting the background of the school and secondly describing the nature and extent of the problem of drop-out from the school. Then we shall consider the relative aspect of the drop-out by looking at it in terms of various possible correlates.

5.2 The Evolution of the Parampancho Primary School (PPS)

The Parampancho *Prathamik Vidyalaya* (Primary School) is a Government primary school in the Parampancho village. The history of the school goes back to the days when various voluntary agencies, such as Christian missions and the *Bhartiya Adimjati Seva Sangha*, established several basic schools for the education of tribal children in the region. Until 1955, these schools were managed and controlled by the voluntary agencies. While the Indian government contributed to their financing but subsequently many were brought under governmental control. The Parampancho Primary School is this type of school. It was established by the Bhartiya Adimjati Seva Sangha in 1940 but after 1955, management and control were transferred to the Government of India. Until 1989, the school was situated on the outskirts of Parampancho almost equi-distant from two other villages. However in 1989, the school was transferred to the centre of the village, following the 1986 New Education Policy recommendation of one primary school for each village. However, government recommendations are yet to be fully implemented in the region and some villages in the hills do not have

primary schools within their boundaries.

At present, the Parampancho Primary School uses the Panchayat Bhavan, a village community hall built by the government. The proposed primary school building is still under construction and, because of red-tape, adequate funds have not been released for its completion. Many schools in the region are in a similar condition. A report by the District Superintendent of Education noted that only 50 per cent of schools in the district have their own buildings. The remaining 50 per cent have temporary arrangements using locally available housing space.

5.2.1 The Parampancho Primary School Area

Primary schools in the region are mainly village based and each school has a catchment area consisting of one or more villages. Following the New Education Policy of 1986, they draw children from the villages in which they are situated. The demarcation of the school catchment area is mainly administrative based on a 5-year census of village children. But the demarcated school area does not restrict children from joining other schools in the region. The Parampancho Primary School, after the transfer of its site in 1989, draws students mainly from Parampancho itself, but not all Parampancho children of school age attend the village school. Some of them go to schools outside the village, mainly Narsanda High School and Lupungutu St. Xavier Middle School[1].

Primary schooling in Bihar is 5 years. However, primary schools in the area operate in four different forms in terms of grade composition: a) grades I-V; b) grades I-VII; c) grades I-VIII and d) grades I-X. Grade I-V type primary schools exist independently, while grade I-VII, grade I-VIII and grade I-X, are merged with other stages of schooling, for example, Middle and High Schools respectively.

[1] The Lupungutu Middle School is a missionary school run by the Roman Catholic Mission. The school has a reputation of being high quality, as some of the employed men in the village were educated in the school. Currently three Parampancho children are going to Lupungutu for primary education.

The Parampancho School Area includes all children in the village of primary school age. Table 5.1 describes the number of enrolled and non-enrolled children in different age groups in the Parampancho Primary School area (Children Census, 1991).

Table 5.1
Parampancho Primary School Area

Age-Class	Total			Enrolled Children						Non-enrolled Children					
				HO			NON-HO			HO			NON-HO		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
0-5y	74	73	147	05	07	12	01	00	01	56	60	116	10	08	18
6-11y	82	68	150	60	37	97	14	05	19	04	20	024	04	06	10
12-14y	26	22	048	20	11	31	02	02	04	03	08	011	01	01	02
TOTAL	182	163	345	87	53	140	17	07	24	63	88	151	15	15	30

(Source: Children Census - 1991)

In the Parampancho Primary School area, as the above table shows, more than half (52.5 per cent) of the children in the village do not go to school at all. In 1991, only 13 children were enrolled in the school before the age of 6 (see Table 5.1). The low enrolment in the age group 0-5 years is related to the high incidence of delayed school entrance in Parampancho. Most children start schooling quite late, mainly aged six, while the official entrance age is five due to the recent expansion of infant schooling. While among the Ho, non-enrolled children comprise 52 per cent, among the non-Ho[2], they constitute 55.5 per cent. However, there is a high rate of enrolment in the age group 6-11 years (see Table 5.2).

In the 6-11 age group, over three quarters, that is, 77 per cent or 116 (97 plus 19) of the children, are enrolled in primary school (see Table 5.1 and Table 5.2). Among the Ho, enrolment is even higher among boys than girls. However the situation is more favourable for Ho girls (38 per cent of the total Ho children in the 6-11 year age group) in comparison to non-Ho girls (26 per cent of the total non-Ho children in the 6-11 year age group).

[2] As mentioned earlier, all the non-Ho in Parampancho belong to non-tribal groups (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Table 5.2
The Age Group (6 - 11 years)

	HO		NON-HO		
	Enrolled	Non-enrolled	Enrolled	Non-enrolled	TOTAL
Boys	60(62%)	04(17%)	14(74%)	04(40%)	82 (55%)
Girls	37(38%)	20(83%)	05(26%)	06(60%)	68 (45%)
Total	97(100%)	24(100%)	19(100%)	10(100%)	150 (100%)

(Source: Children Census, 1991)

5.2.2 Provision of Infant Education

The one year pre-primary education in the tribal region is a recent phenomenon. It was only after the 1986 New Education Policy that schools in the tribal region were entrusted with the task of providing one year of infant education in order to prepare tribal children for primary schooling. But local awareness has lagged behind and parents do not send their children to school until the age of six. So, the children who should have entered grade-I, start infant education in the school.

The Parampancho Primary School provides one year of infant education and 5 years of primary education. The school has only 42 children (the PPS report, 1992). Of the total, 22 are boys and 20 are girls. However, the Parampancho Primary School Area over-estimates the enrolment of children in primary schools in the village and the high rate of enrolment indicated in the census of children (Table 5.1) does not conform to the enrolment figures in the school for two main reasons: a) most of the enrolment data have been inflated; and b) some village children go to other schools. There are obvious disjunctions between the Parampancho Primary School Area data and the PPS records (see Table 5.1 and Table 5.3).

Table 5.3
Students according to Grades and Social Groups (1991-92)

GRADES	No. of Students			HO			NON-HO		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
Infant	10	16	26	10	12	22	00	04	04
I	03	02	05	02	02	04	01	00	01
II	04	01	05	02	01	03	02	00	02
III	04	01	05	02	01	03	02	00	02
IV	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
V	01	00	01	01	00	01	00	00	00
TOTAL	22	20	42	17	16	33	05	04	09

(Source: school register)

The enrolment in terms of grades in the school shows that the PPS is predominantly a pre-primary school as around 62 per cent of the total children are enrolled in the Infant grade. The small number of students in grades II, III, IV and V is related to the fact that the school has been discredited due to a) the transfer of sites in 1989, b) its closure for four months in 1990 in the absence of teachers and c) the lack of its own building. In fact, the school has not been properly established in the village. Moreover, because of incipient drop-out from the Infant grade, less children have been enrolled in the school. In terms of gender, Table 5.3 also indicates that, in the beginning, enrolment among girls is higher than boys. But their numbers start falling from grade-I. The trend of student enrolment in grades I-V during the last 10 years is shown in Table 5.4.

The fluctuation of total enrolment indicates the unstable nature of the school over the last decade. In fact, student enrolment in the PPS has never been consistent. It depends upon condition surrounding the school. The relatively high rate of decline in enrolment from 1990 onwards is related to the transfer of the school site from outskirts to the middle of the village. Enrolment has worsened to such an extent that in 1992 while grade-V had one student, grade-IV had none.

Table 5.4
Enrolment in the Parampancho Primary School.

Year	Grade-I			Grade-II			Grade-III			Grade-IV			Grade-V		
	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G
1980	22	17	05	7	5	2	10	5	5	13	12	1	N	N	N
1981	13	10	03	6	3	3	5	4	1	8	6	2	11	6	5
1982	33	19	14	9	7	2	7	7	0	N	N	N	N	N	N
1983	33	24	09	12	9	3	9	7	2	N	N	N	N	N	N
1984	38	29	09	9	7	2	9	6	3	9	7	2	N	N	N
1985	12	09	03	7	4	3	5	3	2	9	6	3	5	5	0
1986	40	25	15	5	5	0	5	4	1	N	N	N	N	N	N
1987	17	13	04	5	5	0	5	5	0	5	4	1	6	4	2
1988	30	20	10	5	4	1	5	5	0	5	5	0	5	4	1
1989	16	14	02	12	8	4	8	6	2	4	4	0	6	5	1
1990	12	09	03	7	7	0	12	7	5	8	6	2	2	2	0
1991	15	14	01	7	6	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	2	0
1992	05	03	02	5	4	1	5	4	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
TOTAL	286	206	80	96	74	24	85	63	22	63	52	11	38	29	9

(Note: 'N' = data not available.)
(Source: school register)

According to a retired school teacher in the village, "earlier, when the school was farther away, the children went nearer to the school. Now when the school has come nearer, the children are getting farther from it." Additionally, the school suffers from a lack of resources and regular teaching materials. For these reasons, some Parampancho children go to schools in the nearby village.

5.2.3 Teachers in the School

The Parampancho Primary school, unlike many other primary schools in the region, has three teachers. According to the 1986 New Education Policy and Operation Blackboard, there should be more than two teachers in each primary schools in the country. But even today, only 25 per cent of the primary schools in West Singhbhum have three teachers. Moreover, around 40 per cent have only one teacher (D.S.O., 1992).

Uncharacteristically, all the teachers in the PPS are from the West Singhbhum district and two of them are tribal. All three speak the Ho language and two out of the three are trained. In certain cases, a teacher training qualification is waived in order to select local people as teachers. The non-tribal teacher is untrained. Although the teachers come from the same district, they are all relatively new to the school, having joined only two years ago.

In the tribal region, teachers are frequently transferred from one school to another because very few teachers want to work in schools in the forest area. To many *Diku* teachers, working in tribal villages is punishment. The prevalent bribery and nepotism makes transfer easy for willing teachers, although due to frequent transfers, many schools suffer a scarcity or sometimes total absence of teachers. In 1990, the Parampancho Primary School was without teachers for four months. At that time, many children moved to another school and some stopped their studies. The small number of children in the school in grades I, II, III, IV and V is related to this fact.

Table 5.5
Teachers in the Parampancho Primary School

Teachers.	Tribal	Educ. Qual.	Trained	Native Village	Joining Date in the School
T.1	Tribal	Higher Secondary	Yes	80 kms.	18.09.90
T.2	Tribal	Secondary	Yes	80 kms.	14.11.90
T.3	Non-Tribal	Secondary	No	8 kms.	01.04.91

(Source: school register)

Teaching in the PPS suffers due to the regular late arrival of teachers in school and from the frequent absence of one or two teachers. In fact, one can say that the school runs basically with two teachers. The school teachers do not stick to the normal working hours (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6

The Primary School Calendar

The school calendar details.	
Total number of days in a year...	365
Total number of Sundays in a year...	052
Total number of holidays in a year...	059
Sundays + Holidays in a year...	111
Total number of working days in a year...	254
	(365 - 111 = 254)
Total number of study hours in a year...	1397
	(254 * 11/2 = 1397)

(Note: There are 11 periods in one day. One period covers half an hour. Thus, 11 periods come to 5 1/2 hours).

(Source: school register)

Like many primary schools (of the grade I-V type) in the region, the PPS often closes for teachers' meetings, or on salary days. During the fieldwork, I observed that the school was closed on such occasions. According to a villager,

> I don't know any teacher in the school. Every year there is a new teacher. Nobody wants to stay in the village.. Even if they come to the school, they are interested in their salaries only. Who cares about whether our children are studying or not? While children are fighting, teachers are taking a nap. Once while passing by, I suggested to the children to be quiet. The teachers started beating children in the front row, without finding out details of the brawl. As I left for work, I heard the cries of some more children. Probably the teachers had beaten them too. The fault lies with teachers. They are not at all interested in teaching.

Thus, the PPS represents a particular case of a category-A government primary school in a tribal region. Due to its unstable nature and the school's physical migration, the school has been beset with low enrolments in grades I-V. Moreover, the school has been suffering from lack of resources, frequent transfer of teachers, teachers' strikes and lack of parental support.

5.3 Nature and Extent of Drop-out from the PPS

While within a region, the nature and extent of drop-out varies from village to village, within a village it varies from group to group. Drop-out is a relative phenomenon. It depends upon factors such as a) the condition of the school; b) children's grade, age, gender and nutrition and c) parents' occupation, income, level of education, socio-cultural identity and other factors (see Unesco, 1984; Brimer and Pauli, 1978; Sharma and Sapra, 1969). In this section, we shall illustrate the nature and extent of drop-out from Parampancho Primary School, and explain the relative features of primary school drop-outs in the context of the whole village.

5.3.1 Drop-out and Grade

Table 5.7 shows that the PPS suffers from 'Grade-I drop-out syndrome[3]'(see Chapter 1), as the highest number of children drop-out before the grade-I. The incidence of drop-out from the PPS starts from the Infant grade and the largest number of students leave the school in the Infant grade. But since the research focuses on the drop-out from primary school only, the analysis in this chapter has been confined to drop-outs from grades I-V only. In grades I-V, drop-out is highest at the grade-I. The number of drop-outs declines substantially from the grade-II onwards. However, the data for grades II, III, and IV are not complete because the school records for certain years are missing. The new teachers could not provide any information relating to those records. It is interesting that grade-V, as indicated in Table 5.7, shows no drop-outs because the children enrolled in this grade were given automatic promotion to grade-VI.

[3]Following the existing literature on 'drop-out' (Sharma and Spara, 19169; Unesco, 1984) the term 'syndrome' has been used to describe the drop-out at grade-I.

5.3.2 Drop-out and Age

The Parampancho children, like other children in the region, start primary education late. They are first enrolled in the Infant grade (pre-primary education) at an average age of 6 years. Thus, their likely promotion to grade-I is delayed by one year in terms of age. This results in the overlapping of 6 and 7 year old children in the grade-I, when we take into account the drop-out in the grade. The children in the age-group (6-8 years) become susceptible to drop-out according to figures which show that more than two thirds of drop-out children are from grade-I. This is because at this age children start helping their parents in household duties. They prove sometimes useful as attendants in the house, for example, looking after babies and protecting food grain laid to dry in the sun from birds and animals (see Chapter 6).

Table 5.7.
Drop-outs from the Parampancho Primary School.

Year	Grade-I			Grade-II			Grade-III			Grade-IV			Grade-V		
	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G
1980-81	16	14	02	2	1	1	2	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	0
1981-82	17	10	07	3	0	3	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	0	0
1982-83	21	10	11	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	0	0	0
1983-84	24	17	07	3	3	0	0	0	0	N	N	N	0	0	0
1984-85	31	25	06	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	1	3	0	0	0
1985-86	07	04	03	2	0	2	0	0	0	N	N	N	0	0	0
1986-87	35	20	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	N	N	N	0	0	0
1987-88	12	09	03	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1988-89	18	12	06	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1989-90	09	07	02	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
1990-91	05	03	02	7	7	0	10	5	5	6	4	2	0	0	0
1991-92	10	10	00	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	205	141	64	27	20	7	13	6	7	19	14	5	0	0	0

(Note: N[4] = data not available)
(Source: school register)

[4] Like many primary schools in the region, several relevant documents in Parampancho Primary School were missing. It happens particularly with small primary schools (of class I-V) due to lack of storing facilities for the school documents. However, the PPS case is especial because some of its documents were lost during transfer from the earlier site to the current one.

5.3.3 Drop-out and Gender

Where as Table 5.2 indicated that enrolment among boys was higher than among girls, Table 5.7 shows that boys drop-out from school more than girls. It was only during 1982-83 that there were slightly more drop-outs among girls than boys. According to teachers, although fewer girls are enrolled, they persist longer than boys in school. However, it is to be noted that the gender difference in drop-outs shown in the school records does not match with the household drop-out survey data (see Table 5.7 and Table 5.9)

5.4 Drop-out and Repetition

The extent of repetition depends upon the promotion policy a school follows. When it was found that the PPS had not had repeaters in the school during the last few years, its promotion criteria were examined. Like many other primary schools in the region, the PPS has been following the Automatic Promotion Policy based on attendance and a minimum level of learning.

Table 5.8
Annual Examination Results - 1991

GRADES	No. of Students appeared			PASS		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Infant	04	15	19	04	15	19
I	09	01	10	09	01	10
II	06	01	07	06	01	07
III	00	00	00	00	00	00
IV	02	00	02	02	00	02
V	02	00	02	02	00	02
TOTAL	23	17	40	23	17	40

(Note: 100 % pass)
(Source: school register)

The Automatic Promotion Policy has been adopted by the teachers in the school following the 1986 New Education Policy guidelines. By following this policy, teachers in primary schools can promote a child to higher grade if the child has been attending school regularly and has achieved a minimum required learning, although students are supposed to take annual examination. However, the results of exams are not so important in terms of promotion and the earlier criterion of promotion by annual examination has been discontinued.

As the attendance criterion is arbitrary, the teachers in the school show not only 100 per cent pass rate (see Table 5.8) in annual examination but also 100 per cent promotion. All children enrolled at the beginning of year are promoted to the next grade even if they do not do well in the annual examination. Table 5.8 shows that in the annual examination of 1991, all 40 children who sat the examination passed. It is to be noted that the table does not mention the word 'fail'. According to the head teacher in the PPS,

> Now nobody fails in primary school. Once enrolled, the child is certain to be promoted to the next grade. We try our best to keep children's names on the school register. It's only when a child does not come to school for over a year, he/she is regarded as drop-out.

5.5 Drop-out and Social Groups

The nature and extent of drop-out from primary school in the village differs from one social group to another. Here the difference between Ho and non-Ho[5] groups in terms of drop-out from primary school as a whole is significant. A household drop-out survey was carried out to find out the drop-out from primary school in the village.

[5]As mentioned earlier, all the non-Ho in the village are non-tribal Hindu service castes. (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). The non-tribal people in the Parampancho village form a minority. Their subsistence level is even below the average Ho subsistence. Many of them are landless labourers. They work on the farms of the Ho, or work as domestic servants in their houses. Their history of settlement in the region shows that they were allowed to stay under the permission of the *Munda* for cattle herding, weaving and carpentry (see Chapter 4). This research excludes the Gops, the Tantis and other non-tribal groups as the representative of the non-tribals (see chapter 3) due to their historically conditioned subservient role in the Ho village communities.

The survey includes the drop-out from the Narsanda school (outside Parampancho).

Table 5.9
Drop-outs from Primary School in Parampancho

	Ho	Non-Ho	Total
Boys	12 (86%)	02 (14%)	14 (100%)
Girls	12 (92%)	01 (8%)	13 (100%)
Total	24 (89%)	03 (11%)	27 (100%)

(Source: household drop-out survey)

Table 5.9 shows that a higher number of Ho children in Parampancho drop out from primary schools than their non-Ho counterparts. The high drop-out among the Ho is related with their larger population (85 per cent, see Chapter 4) and higher enrolment in primary school (see Table 5.3) than the non-Ho. However, it is to be pointed out that among the Ho children in the 6 - 11 year age group, the number of drop-outs was similar in terms of gender. The drop-out is lower among the non-Ho children in Parampancho, even though they constitute a minority in the village (and in the region as well) and have lower levels of subsistence than some Ho in the village. But in the case of non-Hos, boys drop out more than girls (household drop-out survey). The awareness of the importance of education is higher among the Gops and the Tantis than the Ho because it is their primary means of seeking a better economic future. But because of poor economic conditions, they find it hard to permit their children continue in school.

5.7 Ho Drop-outs and Parental Occupation

Parampancho is a tribal village in transition (Majumdar, 1967). It has been influenced by modern economic and technological developments in the region. The Ho have started working in towns and cities, as the village becomes more linked to the outside economies. In the village, besides growing non-tribal crops, they use modern non-

tribal technologies in growing their traditional crops. For instance, in paddy cultivation some farmers use pumping machines to irrigate high land and use chemical fertilizers. Their attitude towards modern formal education has also changed with their adoption of non-tribal technologies.

This research investigates the causes of drop-outs from primary schools among the Ho by comparing children whose parents are still engaged in tribal occupations with children whose parents have started non-tribal occupations. The Ho who follow tribal occupations are involved in tusar rearing and lac raising. The Ho who follow non-tribal occupations are engaged in growing *rabbi* crops and vegetables. However, it does not mean that the Ho who have adopted non-tribal occupations and know-how, have abandoned all tribal occupations, such as paddy cultivation and fruit gathering. With this comparison, we can investigate the links between parental occupation and a child's performance in the school and his/her attitude towards the school.

Table 5.10
Ho Drop-outs and Parental Occupation

Parental Occupations of Ho Drop-out Children.	TRIBAL Tusar rearing, lac raising, hunting, gathering flowers and fruits from forests.	NON-TRIBAL Growing *rabbi* crops, vegetable gardening, working in town and cities, government employment.	TOTAL
Fathers' Occupations	18 (75%)	06 (25%)	24 (100%)
Mothers' Occupations	21 (87%)	03 (13%)	24 (100%)
TOTAL	39 (81%)	9(19%)	48 (100%)

(Source: household drop-out survey)

In the household drop-out survey, it was found that parents of the drop-outs followed tribal occupations more than non-tribal occupations (see Table 5.10). Furthermore, among the parents of drop-out children, fathers showed more inclination for non-tribal

occupations than mothers. The classification of parental occupations has been made pragmatically for the analysis of gender differences in parental occupation, though most of the occupations in the village are household occupations which both male and female members of the house share (see Chapters 4 and 6). It is interesting to note that the parents who adopted non-tribal occupations were found to be using non-tribal technologies as well.

5.8 Ho Drop-outs and Parental Education

The relation between drop-out and parental education is significant, as most children in the PPS are first generation school-goers. Although in some cases they are the second generation school goers in their families. Table 5.11 shows that while the mothers of all the drop-out children were illiterates, their fathers had varying levels of education.

Table 5.11
Ho Drop-outs and Parental Education

Levels of Education	HO		
	Father	Mother	Total
Illiterate	05	24	29
Primary	12	00	12
Middle	04	00	04
Matriculation	02	00	02
Intermediate	00	00	00
B.A.	01	00	01
TOTAL	24	24	48

(Source: household drop-out survey)

Among the fathers of these children, 5 were illiterate, 12 had attended certain grades in primary schools, 4 had studied up to middle school, 2 had completed matriculation (secondary schooling), and 1 had a degree. It is interesting to point out that out of 19 educated Ho fathers, 10 were primary school drop-outs, and 3 were middle school

drop-outs.

5. 9 Ho Drop-outs and Nutrition

The Ho are distinctive in terms of their nutrition or the food they eat. In Parampancho, traditional tribal food consists of boiled rice, fish, seasonal fruits and leaves and *diang* or *handia* (beer made of rice) (see Plate 4.15). Even the children are given *handia* from a very early age. But the Ho in Parampancho have also been influenced by non-tribal food (wheat, milk, eggs and food habits (such as drinking tea in the morning).

Table 5.12
Ho Drop-outs and Nutrition

Ho Drop-outs	Tribal Foods	Non-tribal Foods	TOTAL
Boys	11	01	12
Girls	11	01	12
TOTAL	22 (92%)	02 (8%)	24 (100%)

(Source: household drop-out survey)

In the household drop-out survey, it was found that while around 92 per cent of drop-out children took traditional tribal foods like boiled rice, only 8 per cent ate non-tribal foods such as wheat, milk and tea in the morning (see Table 5.12). It was also found that most of the drop-out children took *handia* for breakfast in the morning. Later in this thesis, we shall further highlight the relationship between children's schooling profile (drop-out and stay-in) and their interest in drinking handia and other community activities such as dancing during the festivals (see Chapters 8 and 9).

5.10 Conclusion

The PPS like many other primary schools in the region, suffers from a high incidence of drop-out. In terms of grade, drop-out is highest in grade-I. The grade-I drop-out syndrome is a notable feature as the largest number of the drop-outs occur at this grade. However, number of drop-out declines from grade-II onwards. In terms of gender, it was found that boys dropped out more than girls in keeping with the fact that in the PPS, more boys were enrolled than girls. In terms of age, the period between 6 and 8 years was found to be the most vulnerable as most of the drop-outs occurred at the Grade-I or Grade-II.

The relationship between drop-out and grade repetition was found to be very weak as, with all primary schools in the region, the PPS has adopted the Automatic Promotion Policy based on attendance and Minimum Level of Learning (MLL). According to this policy, no child fails in his/her annual examination. As the attendance policy of the school was arbitrary, the school showed not only 100 per cent pass rate in the annual examination but 100 per cent promotion rate as well. Children are considered as drop-outs only when they have not attended school for two to three months at the beginning of a new academic year. During informal discussions, it became apparent that some children who, for some reason or other could not enrol earlier but wanted to resume their studies, had skipped over one or two grades. Therefore the number of children dropping out due to repetition could not be accurately ascertained due to the Automatic Promotion Policy and the teachers' deliberate efforts to obscure incidence of repetition.

The household drop-out survey data showed that drop-out from the PPS was higher among Ho children than among non-Ho children. The data also showed that among Ho children, the parents of the drop-outs followed more traditional tribal occupations than non-tribal occupations. When examining the relationship between drop-out and parental education, as shown in the household drop-out survey, it was found that while mothers of all the drop-out children were illiterate, fathers of these children showed differential levels of educational attainment. It is interesting to note that of the 19

literate fathers of the drop-out children, 10 were primary school drop-outs and 3 were middle school drop-outs. With regard to the relationship between drop-out and nutrition, the drop-out children ate more traditional tribal foods such as rice and *handia* than non-tribal foods such as wheat and tea.

Thus, from the above discussion, it follows that the high incidence of drop-outs from primary school in Parampancho bears upon several factors including social group, parental occupation, parental education and nutrition. The following chapters will consider in detail Ho children's learning experiences in both the home and the school contexts in order to assess the significance of these factors on drop-out.

Chapter 6
Home Learning and Teaching
Growing up in Parampancho

> ... home is the educational community par excellence, the basic pedagogic agency (Raum 1940: 384).

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5, we discussed nature and extent of drop-out from the Parampancho Primary School. Following the broad conceptual framework of polarity (see Chapter 2), we argue that the problem can be analyzed in terms of polarity between the home and the school. In this and the next two chapters, we shall concentrate on highlighting the case of polarity between the educational environments of Parampancho Ho homes and the Parampancho Primary School. We shall describe the two poles separately, before comparing and contrasting them. This chapter describes and analyzes the educational context of the Parampancho Ho home.

6.2 Home Learning and Teaching: the Parampancho Ho Home

It is the winter season and post harvest time in the village. 8 o'clock in the morning. In the north east corner of Parampancho, a Ho mother is breast feeding her 5 month old son in the courtyard of her house. Nearby her 6 year old daughter is playing. After feeding, the mother puts her son on the mat and asks her daughter to keep an eye on the baby. The daughter begins playing with the baby and wants to hold the baby in her arms.

Child: [to her mother] *Enga* (mother), can I hold him? [And starts lifting the baby up.]

Mother: [The mother cautions her.] *Ka* (No)! *Era* (daughter) No! Don't do that! You will break his bones. He is too young for you to hold in your arms. [She explains 'why?' But the daughter shows her tantrums and keeps on pursuing her requests. Later the mother agrees.] Wait! I 'll show you how to hold your brother. [The mother realizes that it is important for her daughter to learn 'how to hold the baby', for in a few weeks time she will have to work with her husband on a regular basis to clear the field for the next paddy season. During that time, it is her daughter who will look after the baby in her absence.]

Mother: [Judging the strong desire of her daughter to hold the baby in arms and her own expectation of transferring the chore of looking after the baby in future, the mother introduces the skill of holding the baby in arms to her daughter.] Spread your arms straight! [The daughter spreads her arms but they are too straight and stiff.] No! Not that straight! [The mother shows her how to bend her arms and keep them relaxed. She explains it in words too.] Loosen your elbow a little bit so that you can put your hands around his body. [The mother keeps the baby on her arm. The daughter holds the baby as suggested.] Now keep on holding him tight and strong, otherwise the baby will fall from your hands.

Child: *Enga* (mother)! Look, I can hold him and he is happy in my arms! [The mother appreciates her efforts with smiles but does not take her eyes off from the baby.]

Mother: [After a while, the baby begins crying. The mother realises that initially she should leave the baby in her daughter's arms only for a short time.] *Era* (daughter), that's it for now! Let him rest on the mat! I think the baby wants to sleep. [The mother takes the baby from her daughter and assures her of further opportunities for holding the baby.] In the evening, you will hold him again.

The above observation is an example of home learning and teaching which occurs in Parampancho Ho homes. It is a brief account of the initial stage of the child's learning of a domestic chore The Ho home is the educational site as the mother and daughter are engaged in some form of learning and teaching activities. The chore is 'holding the baby'. The goal is 'to teach and learn matters of caution in handling a new born baby'. The methods adopted are 'learning by doing' and 'learning in the kinship network' and the language medium of the communication is the mother tongue with equal emphasis on both verbal and non-verbal means. Such learning continues as the child grows day by day. Six months after this observation, I found that the child had learned the skill properly as the mother relied mainly on her for looking after the baby while she was away at work. On several occasions, she was seen holding the baby on her own without her mother's company. The mother once said,

> Now she is O.K. These days after feeding the baby, I often go out to work in the field. In my absence she is the one who looks after him. She now knows how to hold the baby.

Thus by 'growing up in the community', a child learns domestic chores. By 'home learning and teaching' here we refer to the educational activities which occur in the domestic settings of the Parampancho Ho home. The Ho home, as mentioned earlier (see Chapter 2), is considered as a complete educational institution on an equal footing with the school. In this chapter, we shall describe the educational environment of the Parampancho Ho home in terms of four dimensions,

Content:	What knowledge and skills Ho children learn or are expected to learn at home?
Motivation:	What are the goals and expectations of domestic learning and teaching?
Method:	What strategies of learning and teaching are adopted in the domestic setting?
Medium:	What language medium is followed in the domestic learning and teaching?

6.3 Content: Children's Domestic Chores.

The content of domestic knowledge and skills here refers to 'what' the Ho children in Parampancho learn or are expected[1] to learn at home. In other words, a Ho child learns at home what the Ho household in its immediate surrounding provides him/her to learn. As a Ho elder in the village says, "the child learns everything about his/her household and the village, such as kinship and *killi* (clan), paddy farming, tusar rearing and various other matters of domestic importance". Although the Ho households, unlike the Parampancho Primary School, do not have a fixed syllabus, the parents in their interviews show a certain level of uniformity in pointing out what *budi* (knowledge and skills) their children learn at home. The content of domestic knowledge and skills was explored by making inventories through interviews with children, parents and other village elders. Daily routines of some individual children and their parents were also categorized.

The Ho children in the age group of 6 - 11 years perform various kinds of domestic chores, such as looking after infant siblings, sweeping and cleaning, fruit gathering, hunting, fishing, vegetable gardening, paddy farming and tusar rearing (see Figure 6.1). The household activities become the domestic chores for the children, for their contribution to the domestic work is vital for the smooth running of a household. As the mother of a 7 year old girl admits, the help she gets from her daughter in looking after the baby is invaluable. She remarks 'I don't know how I would manage working in the paddy field and looking after my one year old son, if my elder daughter does not look after him in my absence.' Several parents reported that their older children often help^ed in looking after the new born babies and by the age of six or seven they had become very capable of looking after their infant siblings. During the fieldwork in Parampancho, we often saw the children carrying the babies in their arms.

[1]By the term 'expected' here we point out that although in the teaching of domestic knowledge and skills Ho homes follow a common norm, in reality these homes differ among themselves in offering particular domestic knowledge and skills to the children.

Figure 6.1
Domestic Chores in Parampancho: the Annual Calendar

Household Activities	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Looking after infants [year round domestic work for a child with infant or younger siblings at home.]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sweeping & cleaning [daily domestic chores which continue throughout the year.]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cattle herding [year round domestic work. But the children are less frequently involved in herding during the rainy season.]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Fruit gathering [seasonal, depends upon the seasons of fruits such as mahua, mango and tamarind.]		X	X	X	X	X					X	X
Plucking edible leaves [a seasonal domestic chore mainly performed during the pre and post rainy season.]			X	X	X				X	X	X	X
Hunting [once a full-time daily pursuit in the forest, these days it is seasonal due to increasing deforestation and disappearance of wild animals.]		X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	
Fishing [seasonal, performed mainly during the late summer and throughout the rainy season.]					X	X	X	X	X			
Vegetable gardening [seasonal, done mainly during the summer when there is no work load in paddy farming.]		X	X	X	X	X						
Paddy farming [although the main source of livelihood, it is seasonal because it is wholly rain fed.]					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tusar rearing [seasonal, worms reared twice a year with a gap of a few months in between. see Section 6.3.1]					X	X	X			X	X	X

'Looking after infant siblings' becomes an everyday household chore for a grown up child (that is of 6-11 years) if there is a younger sibling in the family (see Figure 6.1). But it is not the only daily domestic chore for Ho children in Parampancho. Sweeping floors and cleaning utensils and other such activities, which constitute parts of the daily household routines, become regular domestic chores for Ho children. Furthermore if the household owns cattle, such as cows and buffalo, cattle herding too becomes a regular feature of children's domestic chores. But Ho children participate not only in the daily indoor household routine work, such as looking after the baby, sweeping and cleaning, but also in outdoor seasonal activities, such as fruit gathering, hunting, fishing, paddy farming and vegetable gardening (see Figure 6.1).

However it is to be noted that not every Ho child does all the chores and not all the chores are done at one time within a day. The factors which circumscribe the children to do and to learn a particular chore in the domestic setting include, for example, the number of members in the household, age and gender of the child. The smaller the size of the household, the greater the possibility of the participation of the child members in household activities. In Parampancho, most of the Ho households are small (see Chapter 4) and therefore parents often supplement their day to day household work with children's help. Furthermore children's participation in household work varies according to age. Younger children, that is those below 6 years of age, participate mainly in in-household work, such as looking after the baby, sweeping floors and cleaning utensils. Children between the ages of 6 and 11 years participate more actively in outdoor work, such as cattle herding, food gathering, vegetable gardening and paddy farming. Although there is not much difference between boys and girls at an early age, as they grow, the children's participation in the household becomes increasingly divided according to the sexual division of labour as practised among the adults (see Chapter 4; Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2

Domestic Chores of the Ho Children (up to 11 years) in Parampancho.

The main domestic chores	Children's participation in the chores	
	the sub chores	**sexual division of labour**
looking after infant siblings;	playing with the infants, holding the baby in arms, keeping an eye on them;	both boys and girls (boys are asked only in the absence of older girls;
sweeping and cleaning;	sweeping and cleaning floors, courtyards;	girls only;
cattle herding;	tying and untying cattle to the poles, taking them safely to the grazing field, washing them in ponds, feeding them;	boys only (occasionally girls also);
cooking;	cutting vegetables into pieces, washing utensils, fetching drinking water;	girls only;
food gathering;	gathering wild fruits, plucking edible leaves;	both boys and girls;
hunting.	whipping and hunting birds and small animals.	boys only.
vegetable gardening;	watering, guarding vegetable crops against harmful birds, helping parents in fencing the garden, plucking vegetable and edible leaves;	both boys and girls;
paddy farming;	looking after the seeds and saplings, further help in weeding, planting and harvesting, husking rice from paddy;	both boys and girls;
tusar rearing (see Section 6.3.1)	guarding the silk moths, killing the harmful insects, throwing stones on the hovering harmful birds.	boys only.

In fact, Ho household activities are organised on the basis of a sexual division of labour. For example, according to Ho customary rules, a Ho woman should not hunt[2]

[2] Following the sexual division of labour, Ho women are not expected to even touch the bow and arrow. They are for men to use in hunting. The girls are often made aware of the existing customary practices, if they try to play with these instruments.

and a Ho man should not cook. If we characterize the men's and women's world of domestic activities, hunting and cooking can be considered as two extreme points between which several household activities exist where both men and women participate to relative extent[3].

(Men's world) Hunting←----------→Cooking (Women's world)

The gender specification of adult roles affects the nature and extent of the children's participation in the household activities. One of the important objectives of domestic learning and teaching is to assume adult roles (see Section 6.4). That is, to do what parents or elder members of the household do. The parents transfer the *budi* he learned from their parents to their own children.

Thus the home *budi* consists of mainly the household chores. The chores can be both a daily routine and seasonal. The participation of Ho children in the household chores varies in terms of age and gender. The younger children do mainly indoor and general chores, while the grown up children participate in outdoor and gender specific chores. That is, as the children grow, they learn the knowledge and skills of their age and gender. Through the household chores, the children not only learn the skills but also become aware of the roles and relationship which are associated with the skills. In other words, the household chores are organised in terms of season, age and gender. However, the nature and extent of participation of a Ho child in household work varies from one chore to another. In the following section, we shall describe the chore of tusar rearing for Ho children in Parampancho. We shall also indicate, by participating in the chore, what *budi* of rearing, the children learn or are expected to learn.

[3]One of the interesting things to notice among the Ho in Parampancho is women's increasing participation in the men's world. For example, Parampancho Ho women do wood cutting, brick laying, digging the land with instruments other than ploughs. Women's efficacy in these activities is often taken into account when bride price is negotiated for their marriage.

6.3.1 *Lungam paiti* or tusar rearing as the content of domestic knowledge and skills.

The process of tusar rearing as practised by the Ho can be described in terms of the stages in the life cycle of the tusar worms. The tusar, like other species of silkworms has four stages in its life cycle, namely moth, egg, larva and pupa (see Figure 6.3).

Moths: As the season begins, the moths emerge out of the cocoons. Both the male and female moths come out. The rearers put the moths along with the cocoons, out[4] on bushes or small trees to facilitate mating of the moths (see Plate 6.5a). The mating continues for two or three days. After the mating, the rearers put the female moths into *tunki* (bamboo baskets) or *kokomba* (leaf baskets).

Eggs: The female moths lay eggs in the *tunki.* As the eggs accumulate, the rearers take them out and rub them between the palms with *ranu* (herbal medicine) (see Plate 6.5b). The rearers emphasize that rubbing makes the hatching of eggs uniform. After the rubbing, the eggs are kept in a *kuli* (leaf envelop) (see Plate 6.5c). The rubbed eggs kept in the *kuli* hatch for exactly seven days.

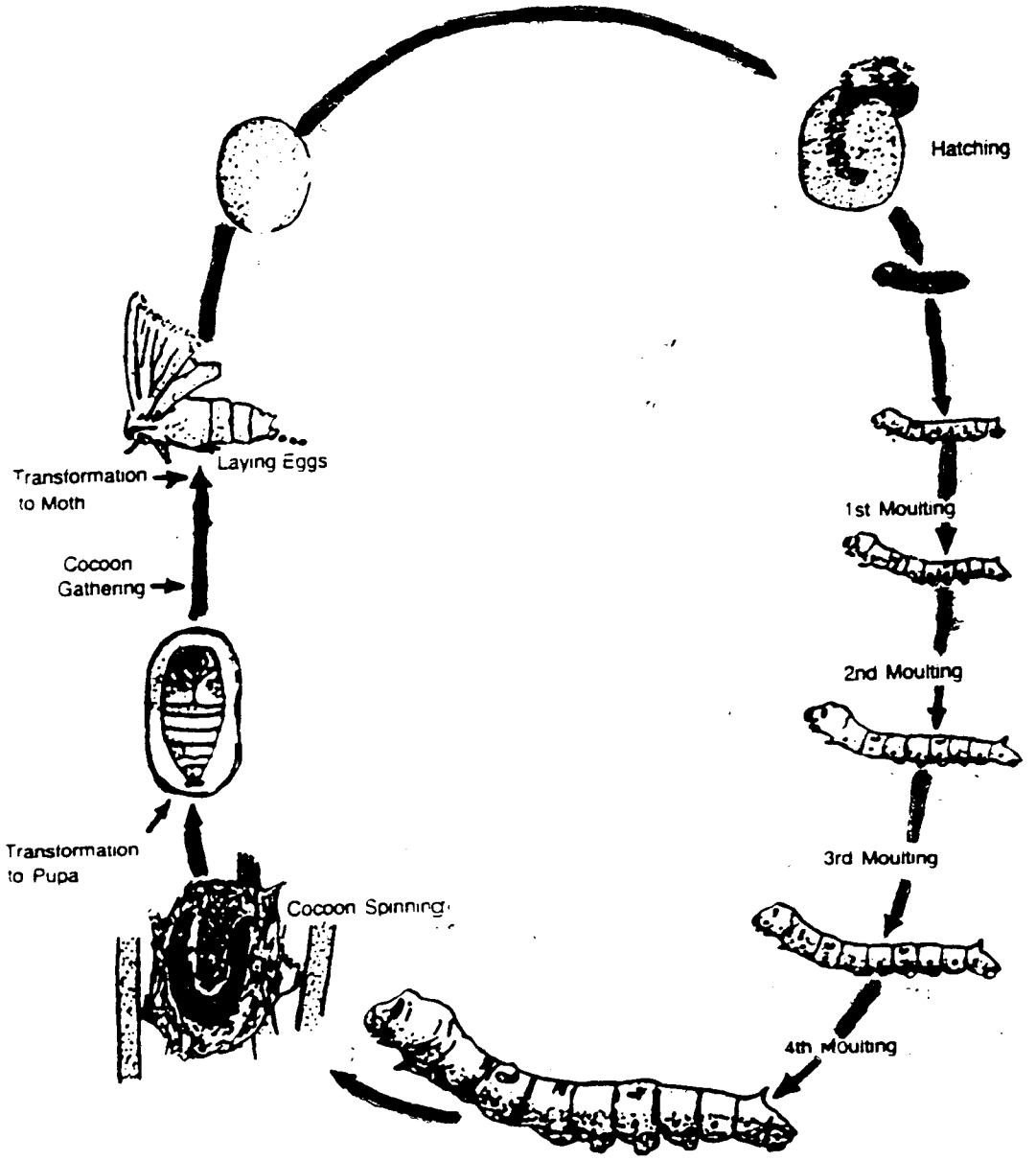
Larva: The hatched *lungam chidu* (larva or caterpillar) is *tipaned* (put out to graze) in a tree. Here it is important that the rearing trees[5] must be selected according to the caterpillars. The caterpillars which are to be bred on *hatna* or *asan* trees must be *tipaned* in a *hatna* tree. The main processes involved in this stage are a) tipaning of the *kuli* b) chapaning of the worms: c) moulting (shedding skins) or *utraw* of *lungams* d) cocoon spinning or formation. After

[4]While the male moths fly around, the female moths stick to the bow. So the rearers put the bow out of the houses so that males flying around can spot the females. It also happens that sometimes the males from other rearer's cocoons come to mate.

[5]The rearing of tusar requires the selection of the trees. To have a good harvest of cocoons, it is important that the tree be suitable for rearing a particular tusar worm. The important trees are *Hatna or Asan* (Termenalia Tormentosa), *Baer* (Zizyphus Jujuba), *Sal* (Ougeinia Dalbergiodes). Among these trees, the *Hatna* tree is the most in use, for according to the rearers, they have large leaves and the worms can feed for a longer period of time.

the tipan, the worms climb onto the leaves and start eating (see Plate 6.5e). From now onwards, the rearers guard the caterpillars against wasps and birds day and night without any break (see Plate 6.5f). They use *ata danda* (birdlime sticks) against birds, such as crows and owls. The caterpillars are moved from one tree to another when they have eaten all the leaves.

Figure 6.3
The Life Cycle of Silkworms



(Source: adapted from Ullal and Narsimhanna, 1987:3)

When the caterpillars eat all the leaves of the rearing tree, they are moved to another fresh tree. The Ho call this process *chapan* (transferring a branch full of worms from one tree to another). The silkworms during this stage *utraw* (moult or shed their skins) four times. And after the fourth moult, the silkworms become fat. The Ho call them *bogoro lungam* (fully grown up). It is the *bogoro lungam* which spin cocoons. The worms first spin threads around three or four leaves in the form of a hammock. The Ho call this process *ramentanave*. Finally the hammock becomes the cocoon, as the spinning progresses.

Pupa: Once the cocoon formation is complete, the worms stay inside the cocoon and finally transform into pupa. Thus the *lungams* or worms complete the cycle that is from the moth stage (emerging out of the cocoons) to the egg, the larva and finally to the pupal stage (hiding in the cocoon) (see Figure 6.3).

Although the tusar worms, like other species of silkworms, go through the same life cycle, Ho children learn the skills of tusar rearing practised in the village. They learn not only the life cycle of the worms, but also beliefs and rituals associated with the rearing. To many Ho in the village, tusar rearing is a Ho[6] adivasi *budi* because the knowledge and skills of tusar rearing have been handed down to them by their ancestors. They tell various folk tales relating to tusar rearing to their children.

The Parampancho Ho rearers use mainly five types of silkworms, Daba, Mugai, Lariya, Jata and Kondeyar depending upon the season and availability of the seed cocoons. Each type looks different, hatches at different times, is reared on different trees and varies in terms of the size and the quality of cocoons produced. Furthermore among these some are monovoltine (that is, emerging or spinning only once in a year) while others are bivoltine (twice in year). For example, *lariya lungam* (early silkworms) hatch early, are reared mainly for the *dunriya anra* (seed crop) and produce cocoons containing less threads. Among the worms, Lariya and Jata are the

[6] In terms of domestic activities, even till today tusar rearing, hunting, lac raising, fruit gathering and honey making, both to the outsiders and insiders, are considered as the *adiwasi* (Ho) activities.

most common worms reared in the village. Moreover, tusar rearing in Parampancho consists of two main crops, a) *hurin āṛa* (small crop) and b) *marang āṛa* (big crop). In *hurin āṛa*, the silkworms are reared mainly during the period spanning from May to July. This is mainly the seed crops, for the people engage in rearing the seed cocoons to be used for the *marang āṛa*. The cocoons produced in this crop have a small quantity of threads. Those who rear tusar during the first season usually cultivate on average 60 to 80 cocoons. The main tusar crop is the *marang āṛa* which begins in September and continues till the end of December. Although rearing, following the Ho sexual division of labour, is conducted mainly in the name of the adult male members of the household, in real terms all the members of the household participate to a certain extent. Ho children learn the knowledge and skill of rearing by observing their kin. The following observation gives a brief account of a Ho child being introduced to some of the basic knowledge of tusar cocoons and butterflies.

Child: [It is early in the morning. The child sees his father taking out his cocoons tied to a bow, he runs towards him and enquires about the cocoons.] Hey *baba* (father), are these (cocoons) fruits? [The child compares the appearance of the cocoons with fruit, other object. For some fruits such as mango are familiar to a child and look approximately the same.]

Father: [The father corrects the child] No! They look like fruits, but they are not fruits. They are *lungam* (tusar) cocoons. I have tied them to the bow. In each of the cocoons, there is a worm. [The father provides more information about the cocoons.]

Child: Baba, when will the butterflies come out of the cocoons? [The child makes further queries about the emergence of the butterflies from the cocoons.]

Father: [The father checks near the stalk of the cocoons to locate the signs of the forthcoming emergence of the butterflies. The pupa inside the cocoons wets the upper part, before coming out of the cocoons. The moisture helps the pupa to break the wall. The father locates moisture on some of the cocoons.] Today any time, some of the butterflies will come out. I 'll show when they come out. [The father

puts the bow back on its place.]

Father: [It is 12 o'clock midday. The father notices a few silk moths emerging from the cocoons. He calls his children to see them.] Babu (son)! Era (daughter)! See here, three butterflies have come out.

Child: *Baba*, they are the butterflies! [pause] Why some of the flies look different. [The child makes queries about the difference in terms of appearance.]

Father: Because, they are different in terms of sex. One is female and the other is male. [The father explains the gender difference].

Child: Can I take these butterflies outside to play? [The child shows an unawareness about the use of these butterflies.]

Father: No! We need these butterflies for producing cocoons. You will later see how these butterflies lay eggs, the eggs become *lungam chidu* (larva) and the *lungam chidu* spin the cocoons. [The father gives an idea of the forthcoming rearing activities. But the description is kept brief, as he thinks that the children will understand properly when the activities happen before them.]

Child: ... *eya* (O.K.).

In the above observation, we find that both father and child are involved in some form of learning and teaching at home. The child is learning some of the important facts of tusar rearing, for instance what a *lungam* cocoon is, what comes out of a cocoon and what we do with the butterflies which come out of the cocoons. Since this is the initial stage of tusar rearing, the father gives only a brief account. The domestic learning and teaching of tusar rearing continues, as the rearing progresses. The children, besides accompanying their parents, help them in rearing. Later in this chapter, we shall show how the children learn the Ho *budi* of tusar rearing by participating in the rearing activities.

Figure 6.4 (a - d): a) A father and son in conversation with about cocoons; b) While the father is rubbing the eggs with *ranu* in his hand, the son is laying them on the leaves; c) While the father is tipaning the *kulis* (leaf bags) on the tree, the son is observing him, d) both father and son are guarding, the former with his arrow, and the latter with his sling.

Source: adapted from Deeney and Purti, 1991.

Thus tusar rearing is one of the *budi* (knowledge and skills) which Ho children learn at home. The children learn the *budi* from their parents. The parental *budi* is exhibited to the children in the form of daily or seasonal household work. The daily household work, such as sweeping and cleaning, and the seasonal household work, such as paddy farming and vegetable gardening become the chore curriculum for the children to learn. The main features of domestic knowledge and skills can be summarized as follows:

Contextual knowledge and skills: The domestic knowledge and skills which Ho children learn at home is contextual, for they are embedded in Ho village life. For example, learning the *budi* of fruit gathering and cattle herding depends upon the context of the village. Furthermore, tusar rearing is a domestic chore but it is learned in the context of the village and comprises not only rearing processes but Ho beliefs and rituals. Both the household and village contexts become important, when we think of the content of domestic learning and teaching.

Gender based knowledge and skills: The domestic *budi* can be divided in terms of gender. A Ho child should learn the knowledge and skill pertaining to his/her own gender field. The children are encouraged to pursue their own gender knowledge as they grow older. For example, tusar rearing is domestic work based on the sexual division of labour: it is the men who do rearing or in whose name the rearing is carried out and women are considered merely as helping hands. Though both boys and girls have the freedom to visit the rearing site, the rearers encourage mainly boys to learn the skill. Girls learn about tusar rearing by observing and by listening to the rearers.

Unity of household knowledge, culture and society: The Ho emphasize their Ho identity in most of the domestic works they do. According to them, their children must learn 'to be Ho'(see Chapter 4). They remind their children of this during their participation in the household chores. For example, according to a Ho elder, "Earning cash by rearing cocoons is important, but it is equally

important that tusar rearing by a Ho must be conducted in the Ho way".

Knowledge and skills based on oral resources: Associated with the domestic chores is a vast stock of oral knowledge in the form of folk tales which parents and elder members of the household tell the children when they ask them to perform domestic chores. For example, in tusar rearing the parents tell a number of stories to their children regarding the origin of the *lungam*, the role of *Sinbonga* in the protection of their ancestors' *lungam paiti.*

Thus the context of everyday household life becomes the content of domestic knowledge and skills to be learned by the Ho children. The domestic knowledge content relates to whatever goes on in and around the place where a child is born and/or brought up. The children learn about their household and village by performing the household chores.

6.4 Motivation: the Goals and Expectations of Home Learning and Teaching

A Ho child grows under the parental expectation that he/she should learn to be a useful member of his/her household and of the Ho tribal community. As a useful member of the household, parents expect their children to help them in their daily household tasks. As a useful member of the Ho community Ho parents expect their children to know and respect their Ho cultural norms. Thus Ho parents expect their children to learn both the economic and cultural practices of the household and the community to which they belong.

In Parampancho, Ho children's household chores arise out of a shortage of working hands in the family. The children supplement the adults' main household tasks. For example, when parents go out to work in the fields, the older children look after the younger siblings. Consequently the parents' household works become the children's domestic chores. By being involved in domestic chores, the children's learning at home has its immediate goals. For example, when fruit gathering, children learn to

collect fruits, and the fruits become the immediate goal for the children. The children achieve the goal at the completion of each chore. Mastery over the skill comes later with constant practice for which they get ample opportunities at home. The immediate goals in domestic learning and teaching make the task easier for children.

Children's completion of domestic chores leads to the completion of the household activities. The question arises 'Is children's participation in household chore learning activity or merely a supplementary of the main adult household work?'. From the field data it emerges that parents use household work for both teaching and running the household to which they and their children all belong as members. In other words, children learn by participating in the household operations. Children's domestic chores are important for the smooth running of the household. Ho children live in subsistent households where their chores are important in the chain of household work. As children grow, they assume some of the responsibility for bringing up their younger siblings. So responsibility training is one of the main goals behind children's domestic learning. Ho parents emphasize the economic significance of learning domestic chores such as vegetable gardening both for the present and the future. Parents often point out to their children that the learning will help in the long term. Furthermore although Ho children perform several types of domestic chores, Ho parents attach special significance to some of the chores. During the operation, parents point out to the children 'the Ho-ness' of some of the household works such as hunting, tusar rearing and fruit gathering. Parents feel pleased if the children show an interest in such work. They often motivate children to engage in such activities. In the following sub-section, we shall describe the motivation for learning and teaching tusar rearing.

6.4.1 Motivation for the Domestic Learning and Teaching of Tusar Rearing

As reported by the rearers in the village there are two main motives for rearing tusar worms: a) to earn[7] money, and b) to continue the ancestral tradition of rearing. At today's market rate, the cocoons fetch a very good price. Tusar rearing is a good cash crop, better than other cash crops such as vegetables (brinjals and chili) and earn them a large amount within a short period of time. The rearers say that they teach their children as they can make an income by rearing silkworms when they become adults and establish their own families. During rearing the Ho parents make the children aware of the link between the chore of rearing tusar and earning money. They believe it is good if they realize the economic significance of tusar rearing from an early age. The following observation illustrates this.

Child: [The child (daughter) sees her father with lots of tusar cocoons which he had harvested a few hours.] *Baba* (father)! What do we do with these cocoons? [The Ho daughter enquires about the purpose of having cocoons.]

Father: I sell them in *Dongol Hat* (Chaibasa town). In return, I get a lot of money. People buy these cocoons, because they are full of silk threads. The threads are used to make *sari* (women's dress in India). [The father points out the economic goals of producing cocoons. He also shows the link between silk clothes and cocoons.

Child: Baba, is my mother's sari made of cocoon threads. [The child tries to establish link between the silk sari and the cocoons in the immediate context of her household.]

Father: eya (yes)! [The father confirms the link[8].]

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[7]According to the rearers, in the old days they used to rear silkworms for clothes as they used to give the cocoons to the *tantis* (weavers) to make clothes for them. That's why they wore silken *chaddar* even during the winter. But nowadays the rearers said that no one rears silkworms for their own clothes. Now they rear for money.

[8]The father later confessed that he had lied about her mother having a tusar *sari*. His main purpose was to confirm the link between silk clothes and tusar cocoons in the context of the family. He further said 'every adult here knows that clothes such as *sari* are made or can be made of cocoon threads.

Thus the rearers point out the cash benefits of rearing to the children, if they learn the skill and how with the money, they can buy various goods, such as clothes and books. But for a Ho rearer in Parampancho, tusar rearing is not merely an economic work, but a religious activity as well. The rearers often mention that tusar rearing has been a Ho occupation since time immemorial (see Chapters 3 & 4). According to a Ho elder, 'It is important for our children to learn tusar rearing, because it makes them aware of their Ho roots.' The rearers point out that although in the past a few *Dikus* (outsiders) had started rearing, they stopped again after one or two years because they did not have the right knowledge and proper attitude and tusar rearing was not their ancestral occupation. A Ho rearer explains the relationship between tusar rearing and Ho identity in his following remark,

> We rear tusar on the call of our ancestral spirits, our *Desauli* (village spirits), and our *Singbonga* (the supreme Ho deity). During the rearing, we observe prayers and sacrifices to appease them for a good harvest of cocoons. Any lapse in the observance causes the death of worms and thereby poor harvest.

Involving children in tusar rearing, as reported by the rearers in the village, means socializing in the Ho social milieu and cultural traditions[9]. The children learn religious facets of Ho life in rearing (such as fasting and sacrifices) by observing them. Thus, the domestic learning and teaching of tusar rearing, has both economic and cultural goals. Several elders in the village confirmed that by learning the knowledge and skills of tusar rearing, their children become competent Ho. By 'competent Ho' they mean those with the ability to earn money through Ho *adivasi* occupations such as tusar rearing. To several villagers, the main goal of Ho *adivasi* occupations is to survive in the *Diku* world with cultural dignity. The main features of the motivation of home learning and teaching are as follows:

[9]These days many villagers express their dismay at the impact of non-Ho or non-tribal culture on their children, resulting in a disregard for their Ho cultural values.

Supplementing the main household work: Although the Ho households in the village are at different levels of sustenance, they are locked into a general subsistence (see Chapter 4). By a general pattern of subsistence, we mean that no household in the village produces surplus food which lasts beyond the next harvest or the next year. And the households depend on their members for labour in conducting major or minor household activities. In other words, the households in the village serve as both the units of consumption and production. In the subsistence household labour force, children constitute an important segment. They perform various tasks vital to the economic survival of the household.

Learn to earn: The Ho parents engage the children in domestic works with the immediate goal of 'learn to earn'. They point out the economic significance of some of the domestic chores such as vegetable gardening, lac raising and tusar rearing. As a Ho parent says, "At the moment, by helping me in tusar rearing my son contributes to my (our) household income. As he grows and establishes his own household, he will earn for his own household". So children's participation in domestic chores is preparation for their 'adult lives'.

Reinforcing one's Ho (tribal) identity: One of the goals of domestic learning and teaching of domestic chores is to socialize children in the Ho tradition. As we discussed earlier, Ho parents expect their children to learn domestic chores such as tusar rearing in full consonance with the Ho religious beliefs and rituals. According to them, their children should never forget their Ho tribal roots. In the words of a village elder,

> We are the Ho *adivasi*, and will remain so for ever. Our culture has survived till today, despite the *Dikus*' aggression. Do you know why? It's because our ancestors have taught us 'what does it mean to be a Ho?'. For example, they have taught us to respect the Ho *Sarana dharam* (the Ho tribal religion), the Ho festivals (such as *Maghe, Bā* and *Hero*), the *killi* (the Ho clans). Our ancestors have bestowed us with a vast stock of knowledge and skills to guide us in conducting our day-to-day lives. It is our duty to pass such knowledge and

skills to our children.

Working within the village boundary: Besides the 'Ho-ness', the Ho in Parampancho emphasize their *hatu* (village) identity. The learning and teaching of domestic chores, to them, means preparing the children to work in the village.

Thus the main goals of domestic learning and teaching are supplementing the day-to-day household work, earning money, to be socialized as a Ho person, and to work within the village. However, the goals may vary according to the nature of the domestic chores. Some domestic chores, although important for the running of the household, may not be of immediate economic value, such as looking after younger siblings, sweeping and cleaning.

6.5 Method: the Methods of Domestic Learning and Teaching.

In this section, we shall describe 'how' Ho children carry out their household chores. When asked 'how do you teach your child?' several Ho parents in the village said immediately "we do not teach. The children learn everything just by growing up" (underlined to emphasize). But as we progressed with our enquiries, we found that behind the idea of 'growing up' lies certain methods of domestic learning and teaching such as learning by doing, by playing, by observing, learning in the kinship network, and learning according to the Ho tradition. We shall explain the domestic methods of learning and teaching in tusar rearing.

6.5.1 Domestic Learning and Teaching Methods in Tusar Rearing

Tusar rearing becomes an essential domestic chore, if there is a rearer in the household. For tusar rearing is too much work for one person in the family. If there is no older member in the family, the young children are encouraged to help,

especially in looking after the tusar worms. Ho parents often choose their younger children for this work.

In the eyes of the tusar rearers, the children in the age group of six to eleven years are capable of helping their parents or older siblings in rearing. It becomes difficult for one person to do 'shifting' alone. For instance, when the rearer shifts *lungam chidu* (the larvas) from one tree to another, birds, such as the *ka:* (crows) and *didi* (vultures) try to eat the worms. In this situation, a six or seven year old child proves to be very useful for he can throw pebbles, shoot an arrow and thereby drive off the harmful birds. The rearers say that children perform this task better than the adults, for they match the birds in alertness. The children learn the skill of rearing both by observing and participating in the process. In fact, observation and doing are two important methods of learning the skill of rearing.

Further for young children, the chores of rearing also become learning by playing. For example, guarding silkworms at the rearing site becomes an act of entertainment. Whenever they see birds approaching towards *lungam* (silkworm) or *lungam daru* (the silkworm tree), they start shouting, throwing stones at them. During the tusar rearing season, the children's voices echo in the jungles and valleys. At the time of the fieldwork, we often heard children's shouting at the birds hovering over the silkworms being shifted to other trees. Many rearers, during interviews at the time of the fieldwork, recalled how they enjoyed shouting and hitting birds, when they accompanied their fathers to look after the silkworms. According to them, they often skipped school attendance for going to the *ārapai* (the silkworm rearing site) in the forest. According to one rearer in the village, children like staying near the *ārapai* (the rearing site). They like watching the worms crawling on the trees. The enjoy shouting and hitting at birds. They like eating the injured silkworms after frying them in fire. As reported by the rearers, the children show strong desire to be at the *lungam daru* (the silkworm tree). The following observation will show how the Ho children participate in the chore of tusar rearing.

Father: [Around seven days ago, the father and son rubbed *ranu* on the eggs and kept them in the *kuli*. That day he had also briefed his son about hatching of the eggs in seven days' time. Today is the eighth day, hatching time for the eggs. The father checks the hatching of the eggs. And the son sitting near to him is watching him.] *Babu*, see here! All the *lungam hon* (larva or child worm) are born.

Child: [The child see the worms with great interest.] Baba, they are very small!

Father: They are *hon lungam*. They will become big, when we rear them on trees. Now we shall take them to the forest. Let us go! Take *kuli* (leaf bags)! [The father indicates him to put all the kuli in a *tunki*. Both the father and son go to the forest.]

Father: [In the forest, they stop near a tree. The father indicates a tree.] This is the *hatan daru* (Asan tree). We will rear the *lungam hon* (larva) on the tree. The larva will grow big by eating the leaves of this tree. [The father once again briefs his son of the coming events in rearing.]

Child ... [The child nods to affirm and tries to understand what his father has said just now.]

Father: [The father begins to spread the *kuli* on the tree and asks his son to pass them on to him.] Babu, stand near me and give me *kuli* one by one. [The child follows his father's words.]

The above observation shows the methods followed in the chore of tusar rearing. It shows that the child is helping his father in rearing. He is observing him doing particular activities in rearing. He is also doing some supplementary work as suggested by his father. However, it is important to note the absence of involvement of girls in this chore and the father has asked only his son to help him in the chore. Following the sexual division of labour, girls are not encouraged to do rearing. But that does not mean that Ho women or girls do not know anything about tusar rearing. To learn the skill, the girls rely mainly on listening to their parents, observing them

involved in rearing, and occasionally playing near the rearing site. Thus following the above discussion, the main features of the methods of domestic learning and teaching can be summarized as follows:

Learning by observing, doing and playing: In their homes, Ho children learn most of the chores by observing and doing. They see their parents doing a particular task. And later the parents ask them to do it. For example, in paddy farming parents send their children to guard the paddy field. This is the chore which the children have seen their parents doing on several occasions. Furthermore, in the case of looking after younger siblings, children first observe the parents doing the work, then later begin to do the chore under parental guidance. In some cases, learning by doing often is learning by playing such as fruit gathering and driving birds and animals out of the paddy fields. When asked 'how did you learn to do, for example sweeping and cleaning', the children often say that they learned these 'just by playing around'. Parents too emphasize this point because very often the parent's work place becomes the playground for their children. For example, the parents who do not have elder siblings take their young child to the field where they work (see Plates 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4). There the children play on the edge of the field and observe their parents involved in work. Thus the children learn household chores mainly by observing, doing and playing.

Learning with real life objects: Learning in the domestic setting also means dealing with the existing reality and real life objects. For example in tusar rearing, children get several opportunities to handle the cocoons and the worms. Furthermore when it comes to the chore of fruit gathering, the children collect the fruits falling from the trees in the forest.

Learning in the kinship network, and affective environment: Ho children learn chores through their kith and kin. So, learning household chores means learning within the kinship network. As evident in several examples, children learn under the guidance of their parents only. Parents, although denying the

idea of being a teacher, work to bring the children to the path of learning household chores. It is the parents who initiate them into learning gender specific roles. Learning through kinship is also associated with learning in the affective environment. By the affective environment, here we mean that parents use their love and affection and threats of withdrawing these during children's learning of household chores. Parents also admit that in certain situations they beat the children to bring them to the path of learning. This happens when the children get into bad company and waste their time.

Learning according to the Ho tradition: While pointing out children's methods of learning domestic chores, parents often contend that children should be taught in such a way that they respect the elders and participate 'with manners' in household activities and social gatherings in the village. They draw inferences from their own experiences to prove the point. They also give examples from folk tales which they learned from their parents. So making the children aware of the Ho cultural tradition becomes an act of transferring knowledge from one generation to another.

6.6 Language medium: the home language

In home learning and teaching, we have described the content of domestic knowledge and skills, the goals of domestic learning and teaching and the methods of domestic learning and teaching. In this section, we shall describe the language of communication in domestic learning and teaching. Parampancho is a monolingual village. The Ho in the Parampancho[10] village usually speak their mother tongue, Ho, at home (see Chapter 4). When asked "Do you speak in Ho at home?", a Ho elder replied "I always speak in Ho at home. Ho is our mother-tongue. I think, everybody in Parampancho speaks in Ho at home". This also applies to Ho children in communication with their parents during their performance of household chores.

[10]The observation that Ho is the lingua-franca of the Kolhan (Majumdar, 1952; Deeney, 1975; Yorke, 1976) holds true for Parampancho.

Although some Ho who are educated or work in cities know Hindi, a non-Ho language, but they speak only in Ho at home. In fact, Ho is the sole language of domestic communication in the village.

Parents often pointed out that they used a mixture of both verbal and non-verbal means to communicate with their children on a daily basis. Although speaking verbally to their children is important in initiating them into the learning of household chores, as the work progresses both parents and children use gestures and postures to supplement the verbal. One parent gave an example,

> When we ask our children for a pot of drinking water, we just say *da:* (water) and indicate with hands to bring. The children will immediately understand that I am asking for a pot of drinking water.

Furthermore in domestic learning and teaching, parents are not very verbal with their children in their communication. Very often, they use non-verbal means. Parents also point out that gestures and postures work well when they communicate to their children in the mother tongue.

In their communication with their children, Ho parents do not use any written aids such as books and, as children at home deal mainly with real life objects, the communication between parents and children remains mainly oral. Parents draw inferences mainly from their own experiences and folk tales. But it is to be noted that most of the Ho in the village are resistant to the developments in the codification of the Ho language in written form. However some written materials are being prepared on the basis of the *Devanagari* script, for Ho does not have its own script. According to the written Ho, there is some variation in the way Ho people speak their language. Consequently, domestic communication among the Ho in Parampancho remains existentially based on the local oral tradition.

In the domestic setting, communication between children and their parents is based on the notion of equality. Both parties participate actively in domestic communication. From observation of household activities, we found that children often initiated

conversation in the form of queries followed by parental explanation. Parents point out that such conversation should be seen in terms of personal relations between participants. In other words, domestic communication implies social relations. This is expressed in terms of relations such as *baba* (father), *enga* (mother), *babu* (son) and *era* (daughter) and not by personal names. Furthermore Ho allow their children to participate in general household gossip. This applies often to girls who perform indoor household chores and learn outdoor household chores by participating in the general household talk where members of the household discuss matters of day to day concern, such as weeding and transplanting in paddy cultivation. In the following sub-section, we shall consider examples of oral communication from the domestic chore of tusar rearing.

6.6.1 Language in Home Learning and Teaching of Tusar Rearing

Like any other domestic chores in Parampancho, Ho is the sole language medium of communication in the domestic learning and teaching of tusar rearing. But there is a special relationship between the Ho language and the chore of tusar rearing in the context of the village at the level of semantics. In tusar rearing, the rearers use several Ho terms such as *kuli* (leaf envelop) and *tunki* (bamboo basket), which are specific to tusar rearers. So the use of the Ho language adds to the contextualization of home learning and teaching. Ho rearers often make it clear that the use of any other language in domestic learning and teaching of tusar rearing will not be as effective as the Ho language. The language offers a contextual vocabulary of words very useful in the learning of tusar rearing in the village (see Appendix-I). In the following observation, we see the relation between the process of tusar rearing and Ho as the language medium of communication.

Child: [The context is a father and son are guarding silkworms. The worms are growing bigger by eating *asan* leaves. They are moulting (shedding skins). The child initiates the conversation.] *baba!* Here, some worms are not eating leaves. They are sitting quiet.

Father: [The father provides the answer.] The worms are fasting. They are sitting quiet because they will shed their skin very soon.

Child: [The child raises further questions.] How many times do they shed skin, *baba*?

Father: [The father answers his queries.] Four times. We call them *chariya* (the fourth ones), if the worms shed skin four times. After that they become very fat, as they eat leaves like a machine. Then it is said that they have become *bogoro* (fully grown up). [The father extends the conversation with further information. This time he mentions why the worms shed their skins.]

Child: [In another context, the child initiates the conversation. He shows curiosity about the threads coming out from the mouth of the worms.] See here, *baba* the threads are coming out from their mouths.

Father: [The father explains the situation.] Yes, they are weaving cocoons. They will hide inside by weaving threads around them.

Child: [The child extends the conversation by relating the farther's commentary with the things happening around.] *Eya* (yes)! This worm is hiding behind the threads. [He asks further questions.] *baba*, will the worms not die inside the threads.

Farther: [The father answers the child's query.] No, they will not die. They will remain alive inside the threads. As the walls of the cocoon are solid, they will remain intact.

Child: [The child shows more curiosity and continues with the query.] Will they come out again?

Father: Yes, they will emerge from the cocoons as butterflies, when their time comes. Again both male and female butterflies will come out. [The

father points out the life cycle of tusar worms by referring to the re-emergence of the moths from the cocoons.]

Following the observation, the main feature of the language medium of communication can be summarized as follows:

Ho as the sole language medium of communication at home: In the monolingual Parampancho village, Ho is the language medium of communication at home. Parents and elders communicate with children in their mother tongue only. They use the mother tongue in domestic learning and teaching to make the communication between them easy and smooth. As Deeney (1975) states, the Ho language is a very powerful language of expression in dealing with the local reality.

Combination of both verbal and non-verbal means of communication: The combination of both words and gestures applies to all forms of domestic communication, such as between parents and children, among siblings or between husband and wife. The use of non-verbal means of communication depends upon the existing social relationships between and among the participants. The closer the relationship, the greater the possibility of the use of gestures and postures in communication. For example, parents share a very close relation with their children, consequently they are more likely to use non-verbal means in their communication.

Relationship between Ho culture and language communication: Language is an important element of culture (Harris, 1984). The use of the Ho as the sole language medium of communication in domestic learning and teaching of tusar rearing in Parampancho indicates a relationship between the language and the chore of rearing in the village. For instance, at the level of semantics, Ho language plays an important part in facilitating communication between the rearing parents and their children. The language attributes particular meaning to the very rearing in the village.

Equality in terms of participation in domestic communication: There is equality between the children and their parents, in terms of their participation in domestic communication. Very often, it is the children who initiate conversation. Parents join the conversation without controlling the flow of communication. That is, both the children and their parents engage in free and open-ended talk whereby the flow of conversation and arguments are bi-directional. The parents give a lot of freedom to their children in the conversation. During the fieldwork it was noted in the case of tusar rearing that children initiated enquiries and parents provided the answers. Furthermore when children's questions were open ended, parents gave detailed answers.

6.7 Conclusion

Thus from the description and analysis in this chapter, it can be seen that for a Ho child in Parampancho, his/her home is an important site of learning and teaching. Ho children learn the household *budi* by performing household chores. They learn to assume adult roles by supplementing the main household activities. Tusar rearing provides an interesting example. Ho children in Parampancho learn the knowledge and skills of tusar rearing by participating in domestic chores. The knowledge they learn is mainly contextual, gender based and unified within the Ho tradition. With the learning of household chores, Ho parents expect them to supplement household earnings, to be independent of in adults and to preserve Ho cultural traditions. In other words, they want their children to grow up as competent Ho who have learned the knowledge and skills of earning money through Ho *adivasi* occupations. Ho children learn household chores by observing others doing them, by doing them themselves and by playing in and around the work place. Moreover learning through the affective kinship network and according to Ho cultural tradition is important in terms of domestic methods of learning and teaching. The use of Ho as the language medium of communication is very significant in the educational setting of Parampancho Ho homes, for it empowers the learners because it is their mother tongue.

Figure 6.5

Home Learning and Teaching

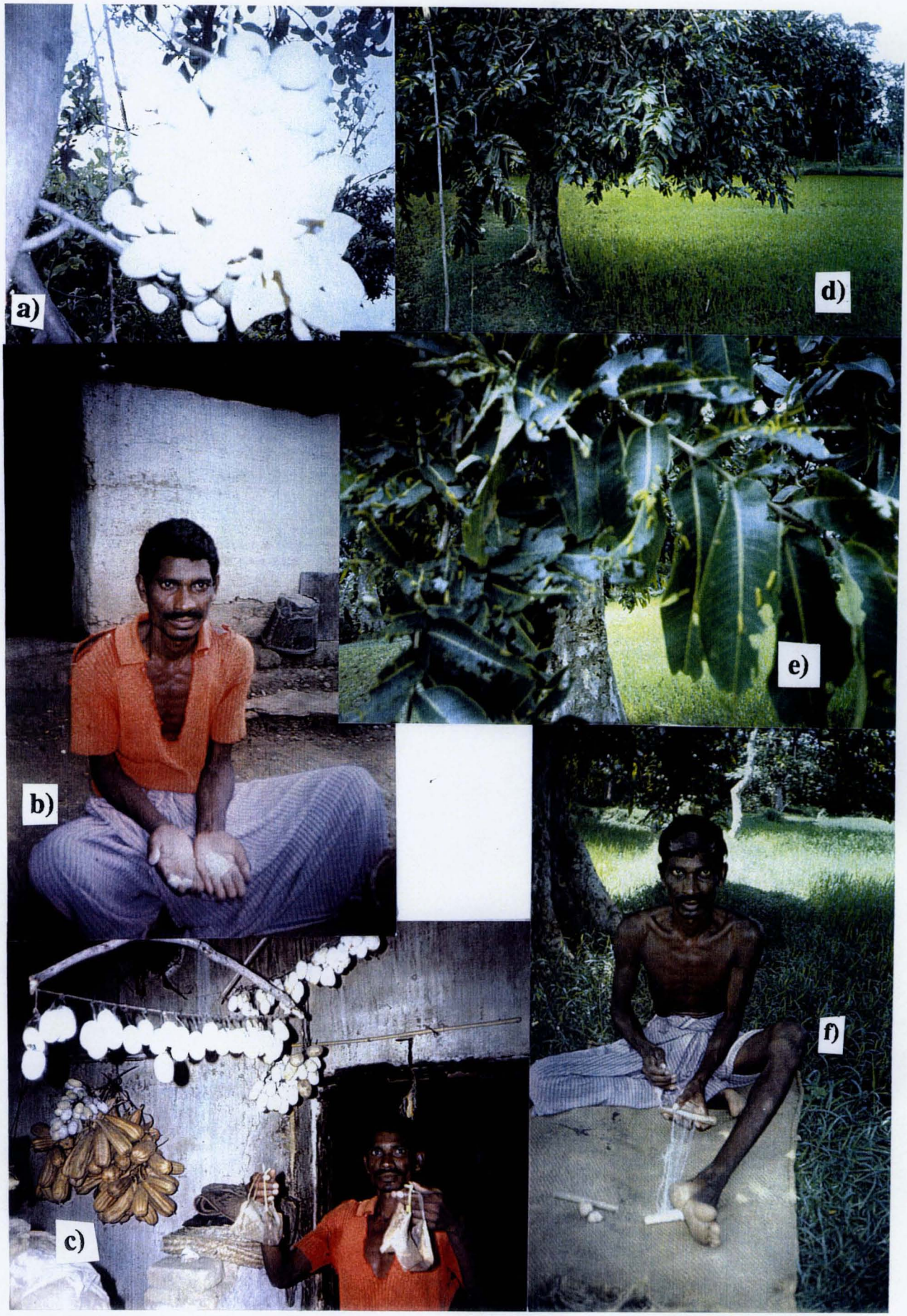
Content	Motivation	Method	Medium (L)
-contextual knowledge	-supplementing the main household work	-learning by observing, doing and playing	-Ho as the sole language medium of communication;
-gender based knowledge and skills	-learn to earn	-leaning with real life objects	- use of both verbal and non-verbal means;
-of supplementary nature	-reinforcing Ho adivasi identity	-learning in the kinship network and affective environment	-equal participation in communication
-unity of household knowledge, culture and society	-working within the village boundary	-learning according to the Ho tradition;	-relationship between Ho culture and domestic language communication
-knowledge and skills based on oral resources			

Plate 6.1 A Ho paddy farmer watching his son ploughing the land during his lunch break.

Plate 6.2 The children playing while the land is being ploughed by the elder members of the household.

Plate 6.3 A household and their *bagan* (vegetable garden).

Plate 6.4 A Ho mother and son going to the field to work.



Plates 6.5 (a-f) ***Lungam paiti* or *tusar* (silkworm) rearing:** **a)** male and female silk moths emerging from the seed cocoons and copulating, **b)** the rearer treating the silkworm eggs with *ranu* (a herbal medicine), **c)** the rearer with the *pū:* (the leaf cups containing the treated eggs, **d)** the *Asan* tree and the wax stick, **e)** the silkworm larva on the tree, (as soon as the eggs transform into larva, the rearers transfer them to the *Asan* tree), **f)** the rearer under the *Asan* tree guarding the larva and weaving a fish net.

Chapter 7
School Learning and Teaching

7.1 Introduction

From Chapter 6, it emerges that for a Ho child in Parampancho, his/her home is an important site of learning. The child learns the home *budi* (knowledge and skills) by performing household chores. The main goal of performing household chores is to learn to do what parents and elder members of the household do. Parents expect children to assume adult roles by learning all the important household chores. Ultimately they expect them to become competent Ho through domestic learning that is, by mastering the chores which are specific to the household economy and Ho culture. In this way Chapter 6 concentrated on the four dimensions of Parampancho home learning and teaching. But the Parampancho Primary School is another important site of learning and teaching. Following the New Education Policy of 1986, the school offers a primary school education to all the village children in the age group of 6 - 11 years (see Chapter 5). In fact most[1] Ho children from Parampancho begin their school education in the Parampancho Primary School. In this chapter, we shall describe the learning and teaching which takes place in the school.

[1]We have used the word 'most' because there are some Ho children of the village who go to other schools situated out of Parampancho. These children are mainly those whose parents work in government offices and have temporary residence in the cities. For the current research, we have focused our attention on the PPS only for a number of reasons such as a) the school is situated within the boundary of the village; b) the school attracts the largest number of the children from the village, c) From the discussions with some of the villagers, it became clear that beside the PPS, the schools to which the Ho children of the village go to study in are either mission schools or the Government High Schools of which primary schooling forms one stage. This research is the study of a government primary school and not mission school. In this research, in order to counterpose the village and the school on the basis of the concept of Polarity, we have focused on the PPS which teach up to primary school level only and which is village based. (see Chapters 3 and 5)

7.2 The Parampancho Primary School

It is Monday 10 a.m. and twenty children and three teachers are present in the school. The children are sitting on the floor[2]. Facing them are the three teachers occupying chairs with tables in front of them. The head teacher calls the names of the children from the school attendance register.

Teacher: Mukta Singh Kuntia.

Child: *Ji* Master[3] (yes teacher)! [The teacher marks a tick (√) against the child's name in the attendance register.]

Teacher: Yogendra Singh Kuntia.

Child: ... [No reply. The teacher leaves a blank denoting absence from the school.]

Teacher: ... [The teacher continues the daily task of marking the attendance of the children enrolled in the school.]

Teacher: [After the attendance call, the teacher gives a general instruction.] From now onwards, keep quiet and concentrate on your study! [He asks a child (a girl) of third grade to bring her *Bal Bharti* (a Hindi text).] Today, we shall finish lesson number eight. What was the page you were reading yesterday?

Child: ... [Keeps mum and hands over the book to the teacher.]

Teacher: [The teacher looks for the pencil mark he put at the end of the paragraph of lesson number 8. He locates the paragraph.] Yes, you finished reading here.

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[2]The furniture and other resources are in a pitiable condition. Most of the furniture provided for the children are broken. Although the teachers have some chairs and tables in working condition.

[3]The children in the school always call the teachers 'master'. The word 'master' has been incorporated into Ho vocabulary as *matasor* (see Deeney, 1978). The school teachers often correct the Ho pronunciation when the children begin their studies in the school.

What we observed here is an example of the daily school routine where in a few children and teachers (appointed by the Government of Bihar) engage in the learning and teaching from prescribed textbooks according to a strict schedule. The children come to the school for five and half hours per day (see Chapter 5) and learn to perform some academic tasks such as reading and writing. They are grouped in terms of grades from one to five (I-V) according to their stage of learning and study textbook materials as prescribed by their grade. The main goal is to complete the academic task (as in the above observation, it was to finish lesson number 8). The teachers often ask the children to memorize the lesson they write in the school. They communicate with the children in both Hindi and Ho because although all the school textbooks are written in Hindi, the teachers come from the Kolhan area and know Ho as well. Thus the school is a place where the Ho children of Parampancho engage in scheduled learning and teaching activities. Like the home learning and teaching described in Chapter 6, this chapter describes the Parampancho Primary School learning and teaching in terms of four dimensions:

Content: What knowledge and skills the Ho children learn or are expected to learn?

Motivation: What are the goals and expectations of the learning and teaching?

Method: What strategies of learning and teaching are employed?

Medium: What language medium of communication is followed?

7.3 Content: the School *Budi* (knowledge and skill)

Ho parents say that children get school *budi* in school. The school *budi* here refers to the knowledge and skills the Ho children learn in the school which offers school knowledge mainly in the form of textbooks. According to the teachers, they teach

what is prescribed[4] in the syllabus and written in the textbooks.

Figure 7.1
The Primary School Book List - 1991

(A new modified list as prescribed by the syllabus based on the New Education Policy)

Grade - I	
Subjects	Books
Language	* *Hindi - Bal Bharati*, Part-I.
(English)	Modern A. B. C. Picture Book.
Mathematics	* *Aao Ganit Seekhein*, Part-I.
Social Studies	*Hamara Nutan Samaj*, Part-I.
Science	*Hamara Nutan Vigyan*, Part-I.

Grade - II	
Language	* *Hindi- Bal Bharati*, Part-II.
(essays)	*Bal Hindi Nibandha.*
(Grammar)	*Subodha Hindi Bal Vyakaran*
English	Modern English Primer-0.
Sanskrit	*Aao Sanskrit Seekhein.*
Mathematics	* *Aao Ganit Seekhein*, Part-II.
Social Studies	*Hamara Nutan Samaj(Bihar)*, Part-II
Science	*Hamara Nutan Vigyan*, Part-II.

Grade - III	
Language	* *Hindi - Bal Bharati*, Part -III.
(essays)	*Bal Hindi Nibandha.*
(grammar)	*Subodha Hindi Bal Vyakaran.*
English	Modern English Primmer-I.
Sanskrit	*Sanskrit Saurabha:*
Mathematics	* *Aao Ganit Seekhein*, Part-III.
(geometry)	Modern *Rekha Ganit.*
Social Studies	* *Bihar Gaurab.*
Science	* *Paryavaran Aur Ham*, Part-I.

Grade - IV	
Language	* *Hindi - Bal Bharati*, Part-IV.
(essays)	*Bal Hindi Nibandha.*
(grammar)	*Subodha Hindi Vyakaran.*
English	Modern English Primer-II.
	Modern English Grammar.
	Modern English Translation.
Sanskrit	* *Sanskrit Swastika*, Part-I.
Mathematics	* *Aao Ganit Seekhein*, Part-IV.
(geometry)	Modern *Rekha Ganit.*
Social Studies	* *Hamara Desha Bharat.*
Science	* *Paryavaran Aur Ham*, Part-II.
Moral Education	*Anmol Naitik Shiksha*, Part-I.
General Knowledge	*Anmol Gnana Ki Batein*, Pt.-I.

Grade - V	
Language	* *Hindi - Bal Bharati*, Part-V.
(essays)	*Bal Hindi Nibandha.*
(grammar)	*Subodha Hindi Vyakaran.*
English	Modern English Reader - II.
	Modern English Translator - I.
	Modern English Grammar - I.
Sanskrit	* *Sanskrit Swastika*, Part -II.
(grammar)	*Sanskrit Vyakaran Pravesh.*
(translation)	*Sanskrit Anuvad Pravesh.*
Mathematics	* *Aao Ganit Seekhein*, Part-V.
(geometry)	Modern *Rekha Ganit.*
Social Studies	* *Ham Aur Hamari Dunia.*
Science	* *Paryavaran Aur Ham*, Part-III.
Moral Education	*Anmol Naitik Shiksha* - II.
General Knowledge	*Anmol Gnana Ki Batein*-II.

Language, mathematics, science, and social studies constitute the main subjects of the primary school curriculum[5] and are taught exclusively from selected books (see Figure 7.1). Figure 7.1 shows that school knowledge is systematized not only in terms of

[4]The textbooks have been written in the light of the New Education Policy and the syllabus prescribed by the state government of Bihar for different grades in different subjects. The PPS, like other primary schools in the region, follows the primary school syllabus approved by the Department of Education, Government of Bihar.

[5] The school does not teach other subjects such as physical education and music and arts due to lack of resources. As reported by the District Superintendent of Education, Chaibasa, this situation applies to most of the schools in the area.

subjects, but also in terms of grades. The nature and extent of knowledge and skills taught in the schools varies from one grade to another. Children from lower grades study fewer subjects and use fewer books than children from higher grades. The Figure 7.1 shows also that for each subject there is a specific book. For example for grade-I, in 'language' the syllabus specifies Hindi-*Bal Bharti*; in mathematics, *Aao Ganit Seekhein*; and in social studies, *Hamara Nutan Samaj*. But not all the books are taught in the school (only those marked with austerik *) (see Figure 7.1). The teachers say that it is unrealistic for a Ho child to complete all the books written in Hindi[6] within one academic year, for in the first grade the children manage to complete only language and mathematics books. So until they learn Hindi properly, the children cannot learn other subjects. School learning and teaching for the first grade concentrates mainly on learning literacy and numeracy skills. According to the teachers, such selective teaching applies to most of the schools in Ho rural areas. The District Superintendent of Education, Chaibasa, reports that most of the primary schools teach only selected books. Furthermore it is not only the books, but subjects are also taught only selectively in terms of grades. So there is a considerable difference between the proposal and implementation of the primary school curriculum in terms of the teaching of particular books.

Consequently school knowledge is mainly textual. The Parampancho Primary School teachers teach only from school textbooks. The children are not taught any other curricular areas such as physical education, gardening, art and music because of, according to the teachers a lack of resources[7].

The prescription of knowledge in the primary school syllabus, relates not only to grades but also to the content of written knowledge. The textbooks do not contain

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[6] In the PPS, Hindi is taught as if it were their mother tongue to the Ho children, despite the fact that Hindi is not. One of the main reasons for this is the lack of language books written in Ho. Although some of the people working in this field reported that very recently the book had been written in Ho to teach Ho children, they are not in circulation in the schools as yet. Most of the teachers interviewed in the school were ignorant about the existence of such textbooks. In this research, we have not included the Ho textbooks in the analysis of school knowledge and skills, because it is not possible to take into account the full implication of those books for the content of school knowledge and skills.

[7] The PPS is housed in the village community building and the construction of its new building is held up due to lack of adequate funds from the government.

local information. That is, by reading the textbooks, the children learn mainly about the broader social groups. Uniformity is one of the important characteristics of the primary school syllabus and the textbooks are intended for all the primary school children in the state. Furthermore the teachers follow certain fixed procedures or methods in teaching laid out in the primary school teachers guidebook and follow the teaching instructions suggested in the textbooks. They say that they follow the order of lessons as suggested in the textbooks. They begin with lesson one in a particular book and follow the book through to the end as the teaching progresses during the year.

Moreover school knowledge and skills are highly organised, for example according to disciplines. And disciplines are organised in the form of books and books in the form of lessons. In other words, school knowledge and skills are organised, divided and further sub-divided into subjects, books and lessons. The books follow a particular order and sequencing of lessons. The syllabus systematizes school knowledge in terms of lessons, books and subjects. In the following section, we shall consider school knowledge and skills in terms of Social Studies as a school subject. We have selected Social Studies as a specific example of school knowledge to compare it with household chores[8] in the context of domestic learning and teaching (the theme of the next chapter).

7.3.1 The Knowledge Content of Social Studies

Social Studies is one of the subjects taught in the school and comprises geography, history, culture and social life. It is the combination of the various fields of knowledge which later become separate subjects. According to policy documents (NCERT, 1991), besides language and mathematics, environmental studies are very important for primary school children, and within environmental studies while science

[8] It is to be noted that none of the books in the primary schools currently being taught contain lessons on tusar rearing. Among the school subjects, it is Social Studies which deals with topics similar to household chores, culture and social life.

is the study of the natural environment and social studies[9] is the study of social aspects of the environment.

According to the school teachers, as with other subjects, they teach what is written in the books. Figure 7.2 shows the books and lessons which the school teachers follow in the teaching of social studies. For example in grade-III, they teach from the book *Bihar Gaurav* which contains materials on geography, history, social and cultural life in the state. In geography, the book deals mainly with the geographical setting, climate, rivers, mineral resources, agriculture, industry and transport. The book also highlights the history of the state, for example the state's contribution to the freedom struggle of the country, with special reference to people involved in the struggle. Furthermore it also describes the various festivals of the state. Below is an example of a teacher teaching a lesson on agriculture from a social studies book.

Teacher: [To a Grade-III child (in this case a girl)]. Mukta! Bring your Social Studies book. [To teach a particular lesson for the first time from a textbook, the teacher first reads the book before the children, later the children read them on their own.]

Child: ... [The child brings the book 'Bihar Gaurav']

Teacher: [As the teacher decides to teach a fresh lesson, he calls all the children from grade-III for group teaching.] Yes, all the grade-III children, come here. [As all the children from grade-I to grade-V are taught in one room, the teachers call the children to their tables so that the children get special attention.]

Teacher: [The teacher decides to teach lesson no. 12.] Today I shall teach you lesson no. 12, i.e. 'Agriculture and Crops'. [The teacher shows the map of Bihar with which the lesson begins.] Look at this map properly! The map shows which crops are grown in which parts of Bihar. Look here at the

[9]However although in Figure 7.1, the booklist shows the subject social studies and books for grades I and II, teaching of social studies does not begin before grade III in Parampancho school.

bottom, the Singhbhum district. Rice and wheat[10] are grown. [The map shows the distribution of crops grown in terms of districts in the state of Bihar. The map shows the crop distribution in Old Singhbhum district. It is an old map and does not show the recent division of Singhbhum district into East and West parts.]

Teacher: [The teacher then reads the text of the lesson sentence by sentence.] The forests grow themselves, but the crops we have to plant. In agriculture, we sow seeds and grow them as crops... Agriculture needs fertile soil and water. The plants get their food from soils. [The teacher reads on until the last sentence.] If we work hard, our state will be a happy state. [So the lesson ends on a moral note concerning the relationship between the children and state.]

The above observation shows the example of a lesson from a social studies book. It indicates that knowledge of 'agriculture and crops' is decontextualized, written and prescribed. It is a decontextualized knowledge of agriculture in general, because the knowledge has been abstracted from the day to day realities of agricultural activities in specific settings. It is a written knowledge, because it is in the form of a text and is prescribed knowledge because the textbooks have been selected according to the prescribed syllabus. The main features of school knowledge can be summarized as follows:

Decontextualized knowledge and skills: The school teaches knowledge and skills which are of general importance. Following the government guidelines, the textbook materials contain lessons which reflect only the general features of broad social entities such as state and country. According to the state guidelines, school textbooks should be uniform to the extent that they contain materials from several contexts. As the above example of social studies illustrates textbook materials refer mainly to the 'outside' *Diku* world. So the Parampancho Primary School teaches mainly decontextualized knowledge.

[10] However, wheat is not grown in Parampancho.

Figure 7.2

Social Studies: the monthly teaching routine (1991-92)

Grades	Subjects/Books	January-February	March	April	May - June	July	August	September-October	November	Notes & Explanation
Grade-I	3. Social Studies: *Hamara Nutan Samaj*, Part-1;	3.family members, relations, occupations; Siddhartha	3. village and city schools, school study; Harischandra	3. our basic needs, (foods, food items, and sources); The Wild Lion	3. Our basic needs, drinking water (rural & urban); Shrawan Kumar	3. our basic needs, clothes, types of clothes; Aruni	3. our basic needs, house, construction & benefits; Krishna- Sudama	3. festivals (rural and urban, games and sports; Arjun's archery	3. knowledge of directions and recreation;	3. consulting the social studies teachers' guide.
Grade-II	Social Studies: *Hamara Nutan Samaj*,	3. the village school, neighbours, rivers; the King Swan	3. means of transport, field, mountains; the child Mohan Das	3. food, market, post-office, ponds; people engaged in various occupations; the child Jawahar Lal	3. water, fountain, hospital, clothes; the child Rajendra Prasad	3. house, security arrangement, plants; the child Gokhale	village Panchayat, municipality; knowledge of directions, brave child stories	3. agriculture, animal husbandry, sacred places, historical places; Jesus Christ, Lal Bahadur Shastri	3. festivals; brave child stories	3. consulting the social studies teachers' guide.
Grade-III	Social Studies: *Bihar Gaurav*	4. Hamara Bihar a) land and hills of Bihar, b) Janak, c) Rajgeer, Nalanda;	4. a) rivers, climate and forest in Bihar; b) Jarasandha, Gautam Buddha, c) Parasnath, Jamshedpur, Bokaro;	4. a) minerals of Bihar, agriculture in Bihar, b) Mahavir, c) Baroni, Sindiri and Balmikinagar;	4. a) irrigation and industry in Bihar, b) Shershah, c) Patna, Ranchi;	4. a) roads and railways in Bihar, b) Kunwar Singh, Birsa Bhagwan, c) Gaya, Deoghar;	4. a) sea and air routes in Bihar, the administrative units of Bihar; b) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, c) the Bihar adminstration;	4. a) food, clothes, occupations and languages, fairs and exhibitions, b) the Bihar Kesari - Dr. Sri Krishna Singh, c) institutions, co-operative committees, health centres, eucational institutions;	4. a) our festivals, b) the Bihar Bibhuti - Dr. Anugrah Narayan Singh, c) repetition	4. repetition of the old lessons; consulting the teachers' guide of social studies
Grade-IV	4. Social Studies: *Hamara Desha Bharat*;	4. a) our earth, the land of India, the Himalay mountain, b) our historical persons: the great king Ashoka, Shankaracharya, c) unity in diversity;	4. a) northen India, Indian deserts, the plateau areas, b) Amir Khusro, Akbar, c) music and dance, handicrafts;	4. a) seaside land, Indian climate, b) Shivaji, Guru Govind Singh, c) our national festival: the Independence Day;	4. a) Indian forests and minerals, b) our freedom struggle: Raja Rammohun Roy, Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, c) the Republic day, Gandhi's birthday;	4. a) Indian agriculture and irrigation, b) Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, c) festivals and fairs: Kumbha Mela and Rath Yatra;	4. a) Indian industries, b) Subhash Chandra Bose, Jay Prakash Narayan, Khudiram Bose, Bhagat Singh c) Harihar fair, Ganga-Sagar fair;	4. a) Indian transport: our roads, rails, aeroplanes, b) Chandra Shekhar Azad; tourist places: Ajanta, Ellora, Mahabalipuram, Delhi and Jaipur; c) the Urs of Ajmer, Guru Nanak's birthday, Onam;	4. a) Indian trade, b) Varanasi, Shimala, Utakamand, symbols of national unity; c) Pongal, Bakrid, Easter;	4. telling the names of leaders and officials of the country;
Grade-V	4. Social Studies: *Hum Aur Hamari Dunia*	4. a) our earth, the earth and its from, stones, different forms of water and land, seas and conteinents; b) the history of scripts, the history of numbers, the history of currency; c) state governments;	4. a) latitudes and longitudes, our neighbours: Nepal, Bhutan, China, Pakistan; b) the great discoverers: Marcopolo, Columbus; c) the central government;	4. a) our neighbours: Afghanistan, Bangaladesh, Burma, Srilanka; b) James Cook, David Lavingstone; c) fundamental rights and duties of a citizen;	4. a) the equatorial region, the Savana, the deserts, the monsoon region; b) great scientists: Galelio, Newton, Einstein; c) the Directive Principles of State Policy;	4. a) the monsoon region; b) Indian scientists (ancient): Charak, Aryabhatta, Varahmihir, Bhaskaracharya; c) national wealth and national security (contd.);	4. a) Islands, tundra region, the natural Bihar; b) Indian scientis (modern): Jagdishchandra Bose, C.V. Raman, H.J. Bhabha; c) national wealth and national security (end);	4. a) the crops of Bihar, irrigation, forests, fairs and markets; b) the great world thinkers: Sukarat, Jesus Christ, Hazrat Mohammad, Ibrahim Lincon; c) India and the U.N.O (contd.);	4. a) the languages of Bihar, sacred places, food, industry, transport, archaeological remains, freedom movement and Bihar; b) Karl Marx, Lenin and Gandhi; c) India and the U.N.O (end);	4. introducing children to the names of the contemporary leaders, officials, dates of national importance.

Prescribed knowledge: The primary school policy guidelines indicate the adoption of the principle of uniformity in the textbook materials. The decontextualization of school knowledge is based on the prescription of the knowledge in the form of the school syllabus. That is the school must teach according to government guidelines. The Parampancho Primary School teachers, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, follow mainly the government prescribed primary school syllabus in the teaching of particular textbooks. The syllabus is based on the national and state educational policy[11] guidelines. The syllabus specifies all the subjects and books which should be taught to the children according to their grades.

Written (textual) knowledge: The prescription and decontextualization of school knowledge relates to the written knowledge in the form of textbooks. This is one of the reasons why children begin their school education learning literacy skills such as reading, writing and numeracy. In fact, the school introduces children to the world of written culture where lived contexts have been transformed into written texts. The children know about the contexts only by reading about them in the textbooks.

Compartmentalized knowledge: Figures 7.1 and 7.2 show how school knowledge is divided in term of subjects, within a subject in terms of books, and within a book in terms of lessons. In the Social Studies syllabus for example, various types of information relating to geography, history and culture have been systematically divided up in terms of lessons. The teacher introduces the lessons to the children as the teacher's guides suggest.

[11]Attempts have been made to bring uniformity to the primary school syllabus both at the central and state levels. The New Education Policy of 1986 by the Government of India recommends the promotion of a national ethos through primary school teaching which indirectly calls for the modification of the primary school syllabus in the light of those ethos. Consequently, the state governments in India modified the syllabus for primary schools as per the guidelines issued by the central government. For example, in 1984, the Bihar government re-organised the whole primary school syllabus in the state through Notification No. 4830-23 in the light of the 10+2+3 system as per the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission and the National Education Policy enunciated by the Government of India.

Thus the Parampancho Primary School offers the Ho children mainly decontextualized knowledge. The decontextualized knowledge appears in the form of texts. The texts are prescribed in terms of grades and the nature and quantity of textual knowledge offered to the children varies from grade to grade. The prescription of school knowledge is reflected in the organisation or compartmentalization of knowledge in the form of books and lessons.

7.4 Motivation: Goals and Expectations of School Learning and Teaching

In response to the question 'Is it essential for your child to study in Parampancho Primary School?' all parents answered 'yes'. In general, parents recognize an importance in formal education beginning with primary schooling. Almost all parents interviewed reported that studying in primary school is essential for achieving *budi* or knowledge. School *budi* is essential for getting a government job, a higher income, and a higher standard of living. As a Ho mother says,

> Children learn many new things in school. They get knowledge and later jobs in town and cities. More importantly, they don't have any fear in talking to *Diku* in the market and town.

Ho parents, in general, say that they send their children to school to get school *budi* and a job. By school *budi*, they mean *ol parao* (reading and writing) or *kitab budi* (book knowledge). By jobs, they mean government jobs based on school education (such as a teacher, policeman or clerk). However some parents point out that a job is the long term goal of primary school education, the immediate goal is to qualify for secondary school education. According to them, primary schooling lays down the foundation for children's future school education. The teachers state that the main goal of primary schooling that is to provide five years of foundation education as laid down by the central and state governments to children between six and eleven years old. In other words, it is to make them literate, to make them understand simple numeracy and concepts. According to one teacher,

> The goal of primary school is not only to make the children literate, but also to establish a sound base for them. For example, *the strength of a building depends upon its base, the base of person's academic career depends upon his/her primary schooling*. In fact, primary school is the stepping stone from which children move forward in their career for higher learning (italicized for emphasis).

The Parampancho teachers also point out that one of the goals of a primary school education is to make children good and obedient citizens of their country. As one teacher remarks,

> Children are the future of our society and country. They take their country and society on the path of progress. The main goal of primary schooling is to provide proper education so that later in their lives, these children can contribute a great deal in the development of their society and country. The children should always strive to be good citizens.

When the teachers mention the goal of primary schooling as 'making the children good obedient citizens' of their country, they refer mainly to the officially established goals as stated in the policy guidelines. The following statement from a primary school policy document 'MLL at Primary Stage' illustrates this,

> Developing a sense of national identity should be a prolonged and continuing process of inculcating in the minds of the children a sense of respect for the national symbols and reverence and concern for upholding the basic values enshrined in the constitution (NCERT, 1991: 63)

So the teachers are in fact the spokesmen of the government in the village in educational matters. They utter the same principles and objectives as enunciated in the government policy documents. The uniformity in the three teachers' answers about the objectives of the school suggests that they not only teach the children the officially prescribed textbooks, but also propagate the government objectives of primary schooling.

The teachers also affirm the link between education and employment. According to them, though the primary school does not guarantee employment to children, it can

pave the way to higher education which has close links with employment in government offices.

7.4.1 Goals and Expectations in the Learning and Teaching of Social Studies

The goals and expectation of learning and teaching of Social Studies form part of the general goals of primary schooling. Following the policy guidelines, the main goal of teaching social studies is to make children aware of their social environment.

Figure 7.3
Opening Children's Social Horizons

Family	↓	Grade-I
Village	↓	Grade-II
State	↓	Grade-III
Country	↓	Grade-IV
Earth	↓	Grade-V

By reading the school textbooks, it is expected that the children will learn to relate their household with wider social contexts (see Figure 7.3). Children are expected to learn more about their district, state and country. The goal is to introduce them to the 'outside world' that is, the Non-Ho world. For example, by reading the Social Studies textbooks such as *Bihar Gaurav, Hamara Desh Bharat,* and *Hamara Sansar,* Ho children are expected to learn about the geography, history and culture of their state, country and the world. The following observation illustrates the case,

Child: [The child (a boy, see Plate 7.3) is reading a lesson on 'Independence Day' (Lesson No. 5) from the Social Studies textbook, *Bihar Gaurav,* before the teacher.] Around forty years ago, India got Independence from England (Britain). The holy day was 15 August 1947. Since then we celebrate the day as

our Independence Day... [The child continues reading lesson further.]

The goal of this lesson is to make the child aware of the history of the country. The main features of goals and expectations of school learning and teaching may be summarized as follows,

To learn to learn more: The teachers stated that the primary school laid the foundation of child's basic knowledge. The main goal of a primary school education is to become literate and to achieve the knowledge and skills required for entrance to secondary school. In other words, the aim is to learn to gain access to the next stage of school education. Parents expect their children to learn *kitab budi*. They expect them to learn things which they do not learn at home.

To get government jobs based on formal education: Both school teachers and parents emphasize that the ultimate goal of schooling is to find a job in government offices. Whether children go to primary or secondary school, the ultimate goal is to secure employment. However some parents are aware that a primary school education only prepares children for secondary schooling and that, job prospects only become clear after completing secondary education.

To study and work outside the village: A primary school education enables Ho children not only to go on to further study but also ensures future prospects of outside employment, that is, of finding work outside the village. Parents agree that the subsistent village economy does not provide opportunities for employment outside the village. They also mention that a school education enables children to find a better source of income outside the village. They compare their situation with the school-educated *Dikus* who have cornered most of the better income jobs in the towns and cities. Parents often consider their children's prospects outside the village, when they send them to school.

To have access or to adopt outside culture: As we saw earlier, the goal of 'Social Studies' is to teach about the outside culture. For example, the third grade textbook, 'Bihar Gaurav', presents the geography, history and culture of the state of Bihar. According to the teachers, learning about the outside world helps children to pursue future careers beyond the village.

7.5 Method: Methods of School Learning and Teaching

In the Parampancho school, the main methods of learning as observed are by memorizing, by imagining, learning through unfamiliar persons and learning in emotionally neutral environment. When asked 'How do you learn poems in your Bal Bharati book?' a grade-II child replied 'I memorize them.' According to the teachers, children learn most of the school lessons, such as poems, stories and essays, by reading and writing them several times. So in memorizing, the learner repeats the same action again and again until the action becomes automatic and learner gets the result simply by performing the action. The process of memorizing a particular text from a book is complete only when the learner reproduces the text without any aid from the book or any other source. Counting numbers (such as from 1 to 100) is an example in which the children use the method of learning by memorizing (see Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4

Counting Numbers in Classroom

	A: counting in ones (1-10)		B: counting in tens (10-100)
1	one-one is equal to one, *eik ikai eik,*	10	one-ten is equal to ten, eik dahai das,
2	two-ones is equal to two, *do ikai do,*	20	two-tens is equal to twenty, *do dahai bees,*
3	three-ones is equal to three, *teen ikai teen,*	30	three-tens is equal to thirty, *teen dahai tees,*
4	four-ones is equal to four, *char ikai char,*	40	four-tens is equal to forty, *char dahai chalees,*
5	five-ones is equal to five, *panch ikai panch*	50	five-tens is equal to fifty, *panch dahai pachas,*
6	six-ones is equal to six, *chha ikai chha,*	60	six-tens is equal to sixty, *chha dahai sath,*
7	seven-ones is equal to seven, *saat ikai saat*	70	seven-tens is equal to seventy, *saat dahai sattar,*
8	eight-ones is equal to eight, *aath ikai aath,*	80	eight-tens is equal to eighty, *aath dahai assee,*
9	nine-ones is equal to nine, *nau ikai nau,*	90	nine-tens is equal to ninety, *nau dahai nabbei,*
10	ten-ones is equal to ten, *das ikai das,*	100	ten-tens is equal to hundred, *das dahai sau.*

The teachers report that counting numbers is a daily school activity for the children, because it takes time to memorize all the combination of numbers. Sometimes the teachers call the children individually to count (for example, from 1 to 10 or 1 to 20) but they also count in groups. Group counting takes place everyday whereby one senior child leads the counting and the rest follow him/her. Another example of learning by memorizing is learning the meaning of Hindi words

Hindi		**Ho**
am	=	*uli* (mango)
bhat	=	*mandi* (cooked rice)
namak	=	*bulun* (salt)
jal	=	*da:* (water)

The children learn the meaning of these words by rehearsing them several times. The teachers often ask the meaning of Hindi words to make sure that the children have memorized them and can give their meaning without any aid. Moreover, the teachers often ask them to read lessons from the school textbooks with equal emphasis on the pronunciation of each letter. The task of reading is organised as a drill whereby the children have to memorize not only the meaning of the words but also how the words are pronounced. For example, in the classroom the teacher reads a text word by word and asks the students follow him. The Hindi word '*tum*' is read *'ta mein harsukar tum'*. The student repeats the same. The teacher goes ahead only when the student speaks the word with the correct pronunciation. To concentrate on memorization the teachers often instruct the children to read one paragraph at a time. After reading one paragraph or stanza from a lesson, the teacher leaves the next paragraph for the next day.

As the school textbooks deal mostly with the 'outside' or non-Ho familiar world, the teachers help the children understand the lessons by giving them hypothetical examples. While teaching, they often use the words 'suppose that' especially in teaching mathematics, when the children have to deal with outside objects.

Learning and teaching in the school take place in an impersonal environment. Since the teachers are from outside, the children do not have any social relations with them outside of the school. They treat all the children in the school more or less equally however, children are afraid of the teachers, because they have sticks can be aggressive. The teachers, on the other hand, point out that some children are very undisciplined sometimes they have to use the stick. They consider beating a selective exercise used at particular times and on particular children. The teachers think that the presence of the stick on the table is necessary (see Plate 7.5) to maintain an acceptable level of discipline in the classroom. According to one teacher,

> To maintain discipline in the classroom, we often have to use sticks. The sticks generate fear in children. Without sticks, they do not respect us. We use sticks when the children do not obey us and do not complete the task. The main objective of using stick is to reform their character.

Beating[12] younger children in the school is common practice. Parents do not object to it. The teachers exercise beating or physical punishment as a professional right. The teachers are not only unfamiliar persons, but also the bearers of the message from outside of the unfamiliar Ho environment. They follow their teachers' guidebook and the instructions written in the books are expected to generate a positive ethos for their state and country. Matters such as national integrity, co-operation and respect for other groups, are often emphasized by the teachers while teaching particular lessons in the classroom.

7.5.1 School Methods of Learning and Teaching Social Studies

The children adopt similar methods in learning Social Studies. They memorize lessons from the social studies textbooks by reading them over and over again until they can reproduce them before the teachers without consulting the book. The

[12]According to the teachers, children are beaten today less than in the past when they were at school. However several parents oppose beating of their children in the school. They support their children, when they complain and certain cases, children stop coming to school.

teachers first introduce particular lessons from the books to the children in groups, and later ask them to concentrate individually on a lesson. The children read the lesson three to four times each day for a week. Sometimes if the teachers have time to spare they call the students individually to read the lesson to them. The process continues until the children are either able to write the lesson or to explain the lesson without consulting the book. To check whether they have learnt the lesson, the teachers ask the children to answer questions. The teachers say that the children do not try to understand lessons, they simply memorize them.

As shown in Figure 7.2, most of the Social Studies lessons refer mainly to the 'outside' world. That is, Social Studies offers mainly decontextualized knowledge to the Ho children. The social studies texts such as *Bihar Gaurav, Hamara Desh Bharat* and *Hamara Sansar* describe the history, geography and culture of the state, country and the world. So learning social studies lessons means socializing in the tradition of broader social entities. While explaining the lessons from the textbooks, the teachers point out nationally and internationally accepted cultural values and beliefs, national and international brotherhood, non-violence, respect for national and international laws. In the following observation, we shall see examples of some of the school methods.

Teacher: [To grade-III child who is reading a book.] What are you reading?

Child: I am reading *Bihar Gaurav* (social studies book for grade III).

Teacher: Finish the lesson today! You have been reading for the last five days. After the lunch-break, I 'll ask you questions from the lesson. [The general practice in the classroom about the completion of the lessons is that the teacher introduces the lesson. The children later are asked to read on their own.]

Child: [The child is reading Lesson No 13 on *Bihar ke Udyog* 'The Industries of Bihar'. The teacher has introduced the lesson to the child. The lessons starts with a question.] Have you seen a factory? The things that we do not grow in the field

or forest, we produce in factories. [The two sentences are about factories which are unfamiliar to the child. The sentences are meant to introduce the children to an understanding of factories. The lesson further mentions the places where the factories are established.] In our state, iron and steel is the main industry. The factories are established mainly in Jamshedpur and Bokaro. [The child reads the lesson twice before the teacher intervenes and asks questions. The teacher asks only those questions[13] which are mentioned at the end of the lessons.]

The above observation gives us an idea of the methods followed in the learning and teaching of social studies lessons in the school. The main methods are summarized as follows,

Learning by memorizing: As textbooks are the main source of outside *Diku* knowledge, children adopt the method of learning by memorizing. According to the teachers, children's knowledge of particular lessons can be judged by their ability to explain them without help from the book a process which applies to several school tasks such as counting, stories, and essay writing. Therefore, in Parampancho school not only do children learn by memorizing, but for teachers and pupils alike learning is memorizing.

Learning by imagining: Learning outside knowledge and skills demands that children to adopt the method of learning by imagining. Teachers often explain the unfamiliar by giving hypothetical examples. They use terms such as 'suppose that' in order to try to bridge the gulf for children between the familiar and the unfamiliar.

Learning under the guidance of unfamiliar persons and in the neutral environment: School learning and teaching also implies learning and teaching through unfamiliar persons and in an impersonal environment. It is not very usual to find school teachers teaching in the school in their own village. In the case of the Parampancho school, all the teachers are from outside the village.

[13] The questions mentioned at the end of the lessons are both open ended and in the form of 'fill in the blanks'.

As the teachers are not related, the children find the school environment culturally unfamiliar and emotionally neutral. The teachers do not give individual attention to a particular child. They follow the strict rules and regulations of the classroom and school study is serious work. They sometimes use stick to discipline children's behaviour, such as shouting and quarrelling. According to one girl, 'Yes, the teachers used to beat me whenever I talked to my friends in the classroom'.

Learning in tune with the national mainstream culture: The school activities begin and end with daily prayers and the national anthem (see Plate 7.1) According to the teachers, the children must know the national anthem and national songs. That is, the children should learn the national anthem and respect the national flag. To highlight the case, the teachers often give examples of great men such as Mahatma Gandhi, Chandrashekhar Azad and Shubhash Chandra Bose who sacrificed their lives for the good of the country.

7.6 Medium: Language Media of Communication in the School

Hindi and Ho are used in the school. While the teachers speak in both Hindi and Ho, the children speak only in Ho. According to the teachers, the children do not speak Hindi because, on the whole, Ho children do not acquire speaking ability in Hindi during the full course of primary schooling. They become competent enough to speak Hindi only at secondary school or at college. However, because the teachers are Ho they explain to the children in Ho. But while reading books, the teachers first read the lessons in Hindi and later explain them in Ho. They often switch from Hindi to Ho and vice versa.

In the classroom, we often observed that both the children and teachers rely mainly on verbal means of communication. If the teachers wanted to catch the attention of a particular child, he would call him by his/her name and explain the work mainly orally. Sometimes when a child, due to his/her shyness responds only with a nod of

the head to mean 'yes' or a shake of his/her head to mean 'no', the teachers encourage him/her to say 'yes' or 'no'. The teachers' verbal communication is related with the school teaching of textbooks. They use the textbooks as written aids in the classroom communication and the text very often shapes the verbal nature of communication.

When we talk of language as medium of communication, it is important to keep in mind the relation between language and culture. Hindi has a long association with the school. It has been the main language of communication in most of the primary schools in the state. Throughout the state, Hindi is the language medium of both the teachers and the book. All the textbooks are written in Hindi. School for a monolingual Ho child is a bilingual place.

The use of Hindi and Ho as the two language media in Parampancho school affects the process of communication between the teachers and the children. Very often, the communication between the teachers and the children occurs in the form of a dialogue, with children's short queries and teachers' curt replies. The communication is unidirectional, mainly in the control of the teachers. In other words, the teachers control the nature and extent of the communication in the classroom. Even if a child wants to ask a question, the teachers may not permit him/her to. But, on the other hand, the teachers ensure that the children do not ignore their verbal commands. In the classroom the children, although very vocal among their friends are very shy in talking to the teachers.

7.6.1 The Language Media of Communication in Learning and Teaching Social Studies

As the social studies textbooks are written only in Hindi, the teachers first read the lesson to the children in Hindi and later explain it in Ho. The exclusive use of Hindi in textbooks affects classroom communication. As the Ho children can only use their mother tongue to listen to the teachers' explanations, the teachers dominate classroom communication. The children are mainly at the receiving end of the communication.

They hardly raise any query about the material being taught in the school. In Freire's terms, the teachers merely 'deposit' the textbook information in the children's mind.

The subject Social Studies particularly emphasizes the close relationship between Hindi as a language medium and social studies as the school subject. The Hindi terms and ideas are embedded in a Hindu cultural context or environment and alien to Ho children's cultural environment.

The use of two languages (Hindi and Ho) as the media of communication: School teachers who know both Hindi and Ho perform the role of mediator between the school textbooks in Hindi and the Ho speaking children. For Ho children, primary schooling is their first opportunity to develop language skills in Hindi, as it is taught as a subject from grade-I.

Frequent use of verbal means of communication: Classroom communication between teachers and children occurs is mainly verbal, because for execution of any classroom activity both the teachers and the children rely on the spoken word.

Relationship between school language and school culture: We have seen that the school is a bilingual or even a multilingual place. As children progress up the grades, they meet other languages such as Sanskrit or English. Although oral communication remains primarily bilingual Hindi/Ho. Hindi being the national language for several years in the country and as the main language medium of communication in the state of Bihar, it has established links with dominant social groups such as the upper caste Hindus in the state or country. The Hindi language has close links with the school culture, in view of the fact that all the books (except Sanskrit and English) are written in the Hindi language. The grammar and syntactic features of the Hindi language dominate in the classroom.

Children's passivity in classroom communication: In school, it is mainly the teachers who initiate conversation. The children very often remain silent or use non-verbal means such as nodding to mean 'yes' and shaking head from one side to another to mean 'no'. The children do not take any personal initiative in putting forward their own points of view. Sometimes the children answer the teachers in whispers (not very audible) which the teachers are able to make out only by being in their company after a long time. The teachers too point out that the children are very shy and do not become verbally active with strangers. It takes time for them to establish any sort of rapport with the children. This applies especially to the children in the first and second grades.

7.7 Conclusion

The Parampancho school offers Ho children knowledge mainly in the form of textbooks. They begin their schooling by trying to acquire the skills of literacy and numeracy. Learning *Devanagari* letters and counting numbers (such as 1-100) are some of the usual lessons in the first grade. The textbooks contain material about national and international contexts. The aim of the school is considered by parents and teachers alike to be the acquisition of such information which the Parampancho children are unlikely to acquire in the local community. The school introduces the children to knowledge about the world beyond Parampancho. For example by reading the school textbooks the children learn about the broader social units such as district, state and country. The aim is to make the children understand that they form part of the wider world. Thus the main goal of a school education is to provide the children with a wider perspective on their lives, over and above the household, the clan and the village. The school furthermore sets moral standards for the children according to the secular mainstream culture of the country. It teaches the outside culture and offers the prospect of study and employment beyond the village. In the PPS, the children learn by memorizing, by imagining, under the guidance of unfamiliar persons, and in a specialised environment. The school is a place of discipline as the teachers take an authoritarian position towards the children sometimes using sticks to enforce discipline

in the classroom. As school learning and teaching operates according to governmental rules and regulations, the school promotes values and practices of national mainstream culture and society.

Figure 7.5

School Learning and Teaching

Content	Motivation	Method	Medium
-decontextualized knowledge	-to learn to learn more	-learning by memorizing	-the use of two languages (Ho and Hindi as media of communication
-prescribed knowledge	-to get government jobs based on school education	-learning by imagining	-frequent use of verbal means of communication
-written (textual) knowledge	-to study and work outside the village	-learning under the guidance of unfamiliar persons and in neutral environment	-children's passivity in classroom communication
-compartmentalized knowledge	-to have access or to adopt outside culture	-learning in tune with the national mainstream culture	-relationship between school language and school culture.

In classroom communication, Ho and Hindi are the two main languages used. The teachers explain the school textbooks written in Hindi to the Ho children in Ho. The teachers therefore act as the mediators between the 'inside' Ho culture and 'outside' Hindi or *Diku* culture. To communicate effectively with the children, the teachers rely mainly on verbal means. However communication between teachers and children is characterized by children's passivity and teachers's verbal dominance. Hindi is not only the language of the teachers but also the language of the school textbooks. There is relationship between the Hindi language and the outside culture. Thus, the Parampancho Primary School operates through a non-Ho context, the formal classroom, non-Ho media, that is the written word and the Hindi language.

Plate 7.1 The Parampancho primary school children standing in rows for daily prayers and the national anthem outside the school building.

Plate 7.2 The teacher in the classroom writing numbers (1 to 100) on the blackboard. There is a poster above the blackboard with the Preamble of Constitution of India.

Plate 7.3 The teacher teaching a reading of lesson from the school textbook to a Ho boy.

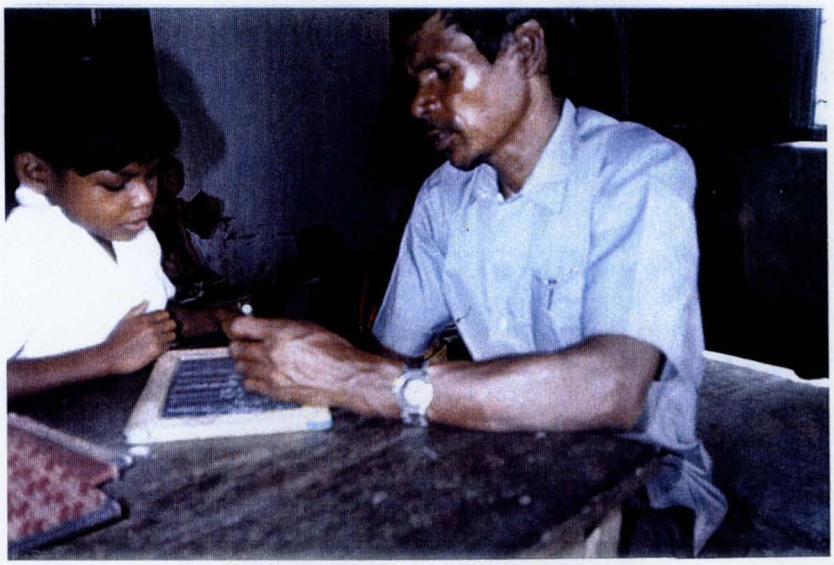

Plate 7.4 The teacher showing a Ho girl how to write *Devanāgari* letters.

Plate 7.5 The teacher writing words for a Ho girl to copy afterwards. The wooden stick on the table is often used by the teacher to re-enforce discipline in the classroom.

Chapter 8
Polarity: the Home and the School

8.1 Introduction

Chapters 6 and 7 have illustrated how for a Ho child the home and the school are two important but distinct sites of teaching and learning. We described the educational environments of the sites in terms of knowledge content, motivation of teaching and learning, methods of teaching and learning and language medium of communication. In this chapter, we shall compare and contrast the two educational sites in order to explore the polarity between them. Following the concept of polarity, we ask 'to what extent are the two sites of teaching and learning similar and different from one another in terms of the four dimensions?' We shall also consider the ways in which individual children and their parents in Parampancho perceive the polarity. However, in order to analyze individual difference in the perception of polarity, we shall focus on the twenty children selected in terms of schooling profile and household occupation (see Chapter 3).

8.2 Content Polarity: Domestic Knowledge and School Knowledge

The Parampancho Ho use the word *budi*[1] for knowledge and understanding. According to them, *budi* brings maturity and enables a person to do any work properly. To survive and to progress in their lives, the children must acquire *budi*. In fact, *budi* is a general term for knowledge. There are two types; household *budi*

[1] The term budi is a Ho adaptation of the Hindi or Sanskrit word '*buddhi* which also means knowledge. As the Ho language does not have aspirated letter 'dh', the Ho call '*buddhi*' *budi*.

and school *budi*[2]. Children learn a certain amount of knowledge and skills both at home and in school. As a Ho parent says,

> *Budi* means knowledge of anything. The children get budi from both the home and the school. But there is difference between home *budi* and school *budi*. While at home the children learn farming, vegetable gardening, in the school they learn letters and numbers.

Although both the Ho household and the school offer certain kinds of *budi* to the children, the two learning environments vary in terms of the nature and extent of the knowledge and skills. In the following, we shall indicate similarities and differences between domestic and school knowledge.

Task-based knowledge: household chores vs. school tasks: As we discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, both the home and the school in Parampancho offer knowledge and skills mainly in the form of chores or tasks. At home children learn domestic knowledge and skills mainly by performing household chores; in school they learn academic knowledge by performing the school tasks written in the textbooks as suggested by the teachers.

But while at home the children learn various types of domestic chores such as cooking rice, cleaning utensils and plucking leaves, in school, they learn whatever is written in the textbooks. The PPS transmits no content about tusar rearing or vegetable gardening. According to the teachers, they do not teach household chores because they are not parts of the school syllabus. In other words, knowledge learning in the two 'sites' is discrete and does not overlap.

Relevant knowledge: contextualized vs. de-contextualized: Both parents and teachers teach the knowledge and skills which are of relevance in their zones of influence. At home parents teach whatever is relevant in the immediate

[2]Although some parents recognize the fact that even at home, people need *budi* to do some household work, but they associate the word *budi* more with school knowledge. To them, *budi* means studying. Those who do not study in the schools will not get *budi*. The word *budi* also means 'cleverness' (Deeney, 1975). The Ho associate 'budi' with the school, because with its meaning of 'cleverness', they refer it mainly to the educated *diku* who have become richer in the region.

environment of their households and village.

There is a significant difference between local village knowledge and the knowledge which is transmitted in the school courses in terms of relevance. At home, the children learn locally relevant knowledge and skills such as paddy farming and tusar rearing; in the school they learn knowledge and skills of national and international importance such as, about cotton textile industry, iron and steel industry and India's freedom struggle. As is obvious in Figures 7.1 and 7.2 (see Chapter 7), the social studies books do not have any reading material of much immediate relevance to tribal children. The content of the subjects taught in the school refer mainly to the cultural practices of non-tribal Hindus.

Prescribed knowledge and skills: gender based vs. grade based: Both household and school knowledge and skills are prescriptive in a certain sense, because access to them follows certain rules and regulations. While households follow their own customary rules as laid down by the clan elders, the school follows government guidelines in the form of the primary school syllabus.

However, while home teaching and learning takes gender as the main criterion for differential transfer of knowledge and skills to children, school teaching and learning recognizes grades as the main criterion in the organisation of knowledge and skills. For example, according to Ho customary rules, Ho girls are not supposed to hunt and Ho boys are not supposed to cook (see Chapter 6). In the school, the children of a particular grade can learn only those lessons which are included in the books prescribed for them by the syllabus. School knowledge is open to all children in a grade irrespective of gender.

Forms of knowledge: oral vs. written: (context vs. text) Both home and school knowledge are presented to the children in certain communicable forms. While household knowledge is available to children mainly in an oral form, such as through folk tales, the PPS knowledge is available mainly in the

written form. Parents often tell mythical stories to their children to make them aware of the historical roots of particular incidents. According to parents, children learn various things about their Ho culture through folk tales which are handed from generation to generation. For example, there are several folk tales about the origin of 'tusar'. The school (as described in Chapter 7) offers knowledge mainly in the form of textbooks. Children learn about various cultures through the books. This distinction raises the issue of context vs text in the polarity debate. While home knowledge is the study of a particular context, school knowledge is encapsulated in texts i.e. an abstraction of various contexts. So one of the important differences between home and school knowledge is the distinction between their oral and written forms.

Organised knowledge: holistic vs. compartmentalized: Both the home and the school follow certain patterns in the organisation of their knowledge and skills. As we discussed earlier, since home knowledge is embedded in the very context of the home and village, while performing a chore children learn about the whole context within which it occurs. While performing a particular chore, they learn about the whole context. For example, by performing domestic chores in tusar rearing, children learn not only about the life-cycle of tusar worms, but also about the geographical setting and religious practices associated with the rearing. The children learn their community's version of the recurring phenomena. For example, the Ho use the same word *sirma* for both sky and year. The association of the two words is based on the fact that the year in Ho cosmology is complete only when the constellation of certain stars come back to the same place after rotation. Furthermore, the Ho use the same word *chandu:* for month, moon and menstruation, for all the three are inter-related. They use the same word *hat* for the words 'market' and 'week', as markets in the area are held once a week. The school teachers, on the other hand, make the children aware of the scientific view recorded in textbooks. So domestic knowledge is unified and holistic while school knowledge is offered to the children in discrete sections, information is clustered into, for example, disciplines such as language, mathematics, science and social studies.

The disciplines are further divided into books and lessons. Moreover as children progress from one grade to another, the school knowledge becomes further subdivided into disciplines, such as the division of social studies into history, political science and economics. So while home knowledge is holistic in nature, school knowledge is compartmentalized in terms of disciplines, books and lessons.

Thus the home and the school although similar in certain respects offer two types of knowledge. While home knowledge is characterized by domestic chores, local relevance (contextual), gender based, oral and holistic, school knowledge is characterized by school tasks, national and international relevance, grade based, written and organised in the form of disciplines, books and lessons.

8.2.1 Perceptions of the Polarity of Contents

From the above discussion, we can see that there is, in principle, a polarity of knowledge between the home and the school. But the perception of the polarity varies from child to child, and from parent to parent. In this subsection, we shall deal with how individual children and their parents perceive the content polarity.

As we discussed earlier, Ho children in Parampancho learn domestic knowledge and skills mainly by performing household chores, that is, by helping their parents in the house. But not all children contribute to the household equally. Table 8.1 shows that 70 per cent of the sample children said that they helped their parents, while the remainder either did not help or were uncertain about it. Furthermore the nature and extent of children's participation in the household work varies greatly in terms of gender. Table 8.1 indicates that 90 per cent of girls said that they helped their parents, compared with 50 per cent of boys. Moreover while the girls helped their parents mainly in indoor household chores such as sweeping, cooking and cleaning, the boys helped mainly in outdoor household tasks such as paddy farming, vegetable gardening and tusar rearing. This gender difference in children's participation in household tasks

is based on Ho customary rules of sexual division of labour (see Chapters 4 and 6).

Table 8.1
Do you help your parents in household tasks?(COHQ1C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Yes (1)	No (2)	Uncertain (3)	Total
Boys	1	5 50.0	4 40.0	1 10.0	10 100.0
Girls	2	9 90.0	1 10.0		10 100.0
	Column Total	14 70.0	5 25.0	1 5.0	20 100.0

From the above table it follows that the nature and extent of children's participation in household activities varies from child to child. But the question arises "Do children learn about the household activities in the school?".

Table 8.2
Did or do the teachers teach you household activities?(COSQ2C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Yes (1)	No (2)	Uncertain (3)	Total
Boys	1	1 10.0	6 60.0	3 30.0	10 100.0
Girls	2		8 80.0	2 20.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	1 5.0	14 70.0	5 25.0	20 100.0

Table 8.2 shows that while 70 per cent of the children point out that there is no teaching of household activities in the school, 25 per cent are uncertain. In terms of gender, more girls point out lack of teaching of household tasks in the school than boys that is, 60 per cent boys and 80 per cent girls.

Besides domestic chores, children's involvement in sports and games gives us an idea about their perception of the polarity. Although in this research, we have focused our attention on the task based learning, which occurs mainly under the guidance of elders (i.e. parents or teachers), to highlight the polarity between the home and the school we have indicated children's participation in different types of sports and games played in the village. On the one hand, there are various indigenous games and sports which all Ho children play in the domestic setting and can be called home sports and games, such as *guli-danda, cheka-cheki* and *lattoo*. On the other hand, there are sports which are played under the sponsorship and guidance of school and can be called school sports, such as football[3].

There is a marked difference among the children in terms of their participation in home and school games. Table 8.3 shows that, while some children play home games only, others concentrate mainly on school games. Moreover there are some children who play both home and school games and there are some children who do not play any sport or game at all. The table also indicates that boys and girls differ greatly in terms of their participation in home and school games and sports. While boys play both home and school sports, girls either play home games or do not play at all. According to one boy (B:DO:4), "I play football, *guli-danda, lattoo* and other sports." The girls play home games only, such as *Dandia* and *Cheka-cheki*. In the words of one girl (G:DO:2), "I play Dandia and stone pebbles. I do not like any other sports and games." However, because of their excessive involvement in household tasks, some girls say that they do not play any sport or game.

[3] Currently the PPS does not sponsor the football playing in the village, But the children and their parents as reported pointed out that earlier the school used to buy the ball for the children those who studied in the school. But these days it is the parents of some of the schooling going children who buy the ball for their children to play in open field. It is to be noted that although not sponsored by the PPS, the football playing as reported is still considered as the school sport.

Table 8.3
What games and sports do you play? (COSQ8C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	School only 1	Home only 2	Both 3	None 4	Total
1 Boys		2 20.0 1	1 10.0	7 70.0		10 100.0
2 Girls			7 70.0		3 30.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	2 10.0	8 40.0	7 35.0	3 15.0	20 100.0

Like children, parents too point to a lack of teaching of Ho life and culture in the school. They point out that it does not teach about local domestic activities (such as, paddy farming, tusar rearing and vegetable gardening), Ho social structure (such as the Ho marriage systems, Ho religion and Ho festivals), and the Ho political system (such as the *Munda-Manki* system).This means that to some extent, Ho life and culture are ignored in the school.

Table 8.4
Should the school teach Ho life and culture to your child? (COSQ2F) (Fathers)

OCCUPATION	Count / Row %	Yes 1	No 2	Uncertain 3	Total
1 Tusar farming		6 60.0		4 40.0	10 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming		6 60.0	1 10.0	3 30.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	12 60.0	1 5.0	7 35.0	20 100.0

When asked "Should the school teach Ho life and culture to your child?", 60 per cent of fathers said 'yes', 35 per cent were uncertain and only 10 per cent said 'no' (see Table 8.4).

There was more uncertainty among mothers than among fathers. Unlike fathers (35 per cent), 60 per cent of mothers were uncertain about giving any judgemental view on the teaching of Ho life and culture in school (see Tables 8.4 and 8.5). According to these mothers, such matters should be decided by fathers only. The parents who supported such teaching contended that the primary school syllabus followed by the Parampancho school should contain lessons on Ho life and culture. Often they said that they could not comment about school teaching, because they were illiterate. As illiterates, they said that they did not understand what happens inside the school. To them, the school was something 'out there' beyond the purview of their household worlds. Sometimes, they left such matters to their male counterparts to decide.

Table 8.5
Should the school teach Ho life and culture to your child? (COSQ2M) (Mothers)

Count / Row %	Yes	Uncertain	Total
OCCUPATION	1	3	
1 Tusar farming	3 30.0	7 70.0	10 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming	5 50.0	5 50.0	10 100.0
Column Total	8 40.0	12 60.0	20 100.0

Tables 8.4 and 8.5 also show that while there is not much difference among fathers in terms of occupation, mothers' opinions differed in terms of tusar and non-tusar rearing households. Mothers from the tusar farming households were more uncertain about the teaching of aspects of Ho life and culture in school than mothers from non-

tusar farming households.

Thus, although there is a marked difference between the home and the school in terms of knowledge content, the perception of such difference varies from child to child and from parent to parent. For example, although at home children learn household chores mainly by performing them, not all the children participate in household activities equally. There is a marked difference in children's participation in household chores in terms of gender. Furthermore boys and girls differ greatly in terms of their participation in sports and games. There were also differences among parents in terms of their opinions about teaching of Ho life and culture in the school.

8.3 Motivational Polarity: the Goals of Domestic Teaching and Learning and the Goals of School Teaching and Learning

In chapters 6 and 7, we described why both at home and in the school the children learn particular knowledge and skills. Parents noted that both the home and the school *budi* are essential for their children's learning. While the home *budi* socializes children into grow useful members of the household and community, the school *budi* enables them to cope with the outside world. While the household education prepares for survival, the school prepares for a better future. Household goals and expectations are usually short term i.e. pursuing activities of immediate consequence. Ho children in Parampancho learn skills whose meaning and purpose are self-evident in the immediate context. For example, learning tusar rearing means earning cash during a difficult period of the year. A school education on the other hand, offers long term prospects of employment. In the following, we shall highlight some of the important aspects of polarity between the home and the school in terms of motivation.

> To supplement household tasks vs. to concentrate on the school tasks: Parents expect their children to participate in household tasks, because they need extra hands to complete day-to-day tasks. And it is by supplementing the labour that children learn about the tasks. So in domestic teaching and learning,

immediate parental expectations involve the children in day-to- day household tasks. But parental expectations are also for their children to complete the primary school course and get admitted to secondary school for further education. While by supplementing the household labour force, children learn household tasks, by completing the primary school course they learn the basic skills of reading, writing and numeracy and some text-based knowledge.

To assume adult roles vs. to get school education based government job: There are long term expectations for both home and school teaching and learning. In the case of domestic teaching and learning, Ho parents expect children to grow into productive adult members of the household and community. They expect their children to be independent. In other words, they expect them to be capable of earning a livelihood to support their families at a later date. A school education in the long term, assures jobs based on school knowledge and skills i.e. the jobs in government offices and cities.

To learn to earn vs. to learn to learn more: Children help their parents in various domestic activities, such as tusar rearing and vegetable gardening, which are basically money-earning activities. So, at home children learn how to earn money from an early age. Helping in the household makes the children aware of the links between household activities and earning money (see Chapter 6). School learning, on the other hand, merely lays the foundations of a modern formal education by which children are expected to progress further to more school learning. So a primary school education is only the first step on a long path of school education. The immediate goal of primary schooling is to complete the course for access to secondary education, because primary schooling is a non-vocational; it only lays down the foundations for more education. By completing the primary school course, the children learn literacy and numeracy skills.

To work within the village vs. to work outside one's own village: At home, learning certain household activities, such as paddy farming and tusar rearing, means being able to work within the village. Parents often expect their children to carry out these household tasks. The primary school raises children's expectations beyond the boundaries of the village to, for example, factories, offices and even schools. Very often their expectations do not include current parental occupations because school educated persons seek their future prospects in employment opportunities out of the village and abandon parental occupations.

To learn about one's own culture vs. to learn about other cultures: Both the home and the school orient children towards particular types of cultural frameworks. At home, parents inculcate the cultural values and norms of the Ho community, while in the school teachers introduce children to the multi-cultural framework of India. In fact, one of the important goals of home teaching and learning is to socialize children in the Ho cultural tradition. Parents expect them to learn the community norms, that is, Ho norms. As one Ho says, "learning domestic works is not complete, unless the children learn it to do in the Ho way." In the school, the children are expected to learn norms and etiquettes of the outside world. The teachers, expect them to learn the national anthem, national songs and to respect national laws and authorities.

Thus both the home and school environments have goals and expectations associated with them. Both are associated with employment in the long term. But the goals and expectations of the two teaching and learning systems differ greatly as do their cultural frameworks. At home children are expected to learn mainly by contributing to the work of the household, by assuming adult household roles, by becoming independent as soon as possible, by working within the village (or continuing household occupation), and in the process becoming socialized as Ho. With school teaching and learning, children are expected to concentrate on school tasks in order to get admission into secondary schools and be eligible for employment in the outside

world. In the course of this education they are exposed to outside cultures. Therefore there is a polarity between Ho households and the school in terms of goals and expectations for learning.

8.3.1 Perceptions of Motivational Polarity

As discussed above, there exists polarity between the home and the school in terms of goals and expectations. But the perception of the polarity varies from child to child and from parent to parent. In this subsection, we shall see how individuals perceive the motivational polarity. For example one of the important goals of domestic teaching and learning is to continue household occupations, such as tusar rearing.

Table 8.6
Would you like to rear tusar in future? (MOHQ1C)

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	Total
OCCUPATION	1	2	3	
1 Boys	2 20.0	5 50.0	3 30.0	10 100.0
2 Girls		7 70.0	3 30.0	10 100.0
Column Total	2 10.0	12 60.0	6 30.0	20 100.0

Table 8.6 shows that of the twenty sample children, only 2 children willingly accepted that they would be tusar rearers in future. The rest said 'no' or were uncertain. The Table also indicates a marked gender difference in that no girl said that she would be a tusar rearer in the future, mainly due to the Ho customary sexual division of labour. As one Ho girl said,

> No! I shall not rear tusar in future. As a girl, we are not taught tusar rearing. No woman in this village does tusar rearing. I know only this that I will get married, as I grow older. After marriage, I will help my husband in whatever work he will do.

Tusar rearing, although a Ho tribal occupation is not a favourite among the Ho children, because tusar rearing alone does not provide enough income to live on or prosper by. At the outset of their education, Ho children do not aspire to become tusar rearers because it implies working in the village with little income to support a family. Tusar rearing as an occupation of the future is seen with little enthusiasm because it is associated with the forest which is gradually disappearing and with it tusar rearing. Tusar rearing for both children and adults is valued for its cultural reasons rather than economic prospects.

Table 8.7
Would you like to do paddy farming in future? (MOHQ2C)

OCCUPATION	Count / Row %	Yes (1)	No (2)	Uncertain (3)	Total
Boys	1	5 50.0	5 50.0		10 100.0
Girls	2	2 20.0	4 40.0	4 40.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	7 35.0	9 45.0	4 20.0	20 100.0

The children gave mixed replies to the question of "would you like to do paddy farming in future or not ?" Table 8.7 shows that of the sample children, only 35 per cent admitted that they wanted to do paddy farming in future. The rest of the children said 'no' or were 'uncertain'. Unlike the boys (50 per cent), only 20 per cent of the girls admitted that they would do paddy farming in future. Furthermore while all the boys gave categorical replies (i.e. 'yes' or 'no'), 40 per cent of the girls were

uncertain because of Ho gender roles which prescribed to them only the role of helpers.

Parampancho is a tribal village in transition (see Chapter 4). Ho parents are to some extent exposed to the outside cultural influences and are involved in both tribal and non-tribal occupations. The parents have mixed views about their children's future occupation. Although they consider tusar rearing important, because it is their traditional occupation, it does not provide enough income. Alternatively non-tribal and non-traditional occupations, such as jobs in government offices, provide better incomes and better standards of living. Tables 8.8 and 8.9 show that parents (50 per cent of fathers and 75 per cent of mothers) keep their options open for their children to enter either tribal or non-tribal occupations.

Table 8.8
The future occupation of your child. (MOSQ2F) (Fathers)

Count / Row %	Tribal	Non-tribal	Both	
	1	2	3	Total
OCCUPATION				
1 Tusar farming	1 10.0	5 50.0	4 40.0	10 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming		4 40.0	6 60.0	10 100.0
Column Total	1 5.0	9 45.0	10 50.0	20 100.0

According to parents when they send their children to school, they expect them to get a job based on their school education. But a school education in itself does not guarantee a job. Therefore parents are also intent on keeping options open and continuing household occupations such as paddy farming or tusar rearing. The Tables further show that among the parents there is difference between fathers and mothers. A larger number of mothers (75 per cent) emphasize the importance of both tribal and

non-tribal occupations than fathers (50 per cent). Furthermore mothers from tusar farming households emphasized more than mothers from non-tusar farming households that children should be prepared for both tribal and non-tribal occupations (see Table 8.9).

Table 8.9
The future occupation of your child. (MOSQ2M) (Mothers)

Count / Row %	Non-tribal 2	Both 3	Total
OCCUPATION 1	1	9	10
Tusar farming	10.0	90.0	100.0
2	4	6	10
Non-tusar farming	40.0	60.0	100.0
Column Total	5	15	20
	25.0	75.0	100.0

Parents say that the primary goal of teaching and learning household chores such as tusar rearing and paddy farming is to prepare their children for an alternative to a modern job. Not all educated persons get government jobs and parents show a general pessimism about job prospects arising from formal education. As primary school is just one of the many stages of formal education, the link between government jobs and primary schooling seems very distant to parents. Parents say that, like primary school, learning household knowledge and skills are necessary, because they are needed for economic survival. So it is essential that children learn domestic work, such as tusar rearing and paddy farming. With regard to the question "would you like your children to be paddy farmers or tusar rearers in future?" parents were uncertain. They said that it was not in their hands what their children would be in the future. Parents were dissatisfied with their meagre income from domestic work, however were equally dismayed by the uncertainty which a school education brought in terms of employment. In terms of economic gains, non-tribal occupations are more

remunerative and assure better standards of living. Tables 8.8 and 8.9 show that both fathers and mothers do not prefer tribal occupations as future sources of income. Unlike fathers, however mothers think that their children should seek their future in both tribal and non-tribal occupations.

All the Ho children and their parents interviewed emphasize that studying in primary school is essential. Mothers, like fathers, acknowledge the importance of schooling and think that it is good for their children to study in school. According to some parents, both studying in the school and learning tusar rearing are possible and necessary. While studying in school endows children with *budi*, helping parents in tusar rearing brings money into the household. But when asked "Up to what level of education they wanted their children to study?", the parents gave mixed replies (see Tables 8.10 and 8.11).

Table 8.10

Up to what level of education did or do you want your child to study? (MOSQ6F) (Fathers)

Count / Row %	Primary	Secondary	College/ University	No idea	Total
	1	2	3	4	
OCCUPATION					
1 Tusar farming	1 10.0	2 20.0	2 20.0	5 50.0	10 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming	3 30.0	1 10.0	1 10.0	5 50.0	10 100.0
Column Total	4 20.0	3 15.0	3 15.0	10 50.0	20 100.0

Tables 8.10 and 8.11 show that 50 per cent of parents had no idea about future targets for the completion of school education. The Tables also indicate that among the parents who had some plans for their children's school education, fathers mentioned a desirable level of education beyond primary schooling (such as secondary schooling and university education), but mothers were concerned mainly with completing

primary schooling.

Table 8.11
Up to what level of education did or do you want your child to study? (MOSQ6M) (Mothers)

Count / Row %	Primary	No idea	Total
OCCUPATION	1	4	
1 Tusar farming	5 / 50.0	5 / 50.0	10 / 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming	5 / 50.0	5 / 50.0	10 / 100.0
Column Total	10 / 50.0	10 / 50.0	20 / 100.0

Therefore the two tables indicate a marked difference between fathers and mothers. That is, while the fathers' expectations went beyond primary schooling, the mothers' expectations remained tied with school education available within the village, that is, primary schooling. The Tables do not show significant difference in terms of parental occupation regarding the expected levels of schooling for children.

Thus the nature and extent of the polarity between home and school motivation varies from child to child and from parent to parent. For example, one of the important goals of domestic teaching and learning is to continue household occupations such as tusar rearing. Of the sample children, only 20 per cent of children wanted to be tusar rearers, the rest either did not want to do tusar rearing or were uncertain about it. The parents too gave mixed replies but wanted their children to keep their options open both in tribal and not-tribal occupations. Furthermore although all parents think that primary school education is essential for their children, not all the parents had plans for their children's further school education. Of the sample, half of the parents had some ideas about their children's school career, while the rest varied in their

stipulation of particular levels of schooling.

8.4 Polarity of Methods: the Methods of Domestic Teaching and Learning and the Methods of School Teaching and Learning

In chapters 6 and 7 we described the methods of teaching and learning followed in both home and school settings. There is no specialised teacher in the home and teaching and learning is integrated into day-to-day domestic activities. The senior members encourage the younger ones to participate fully in the household and the village community life. The Ho children in Parampancho learn the household chores by performing real life activities in concrete situations and engaging repeatedly in the same tasks. In the school, the children are taught by persons whose sole job is to teach. The teachers have been given special training for this work and follow their teachers' guide and textbook instructions about 'how to teach a particular lesson' to the children. In this section we shall consider the similarities and differences between the home and the school in terms of methods of teaching and learning.

Learning by doing vs. learning by memorizing: In both home and school settings, children adopt methods according to the tasks. While at home, the task is to help parents in their day-to-day household jobs. Children learn by observing parents doing particular tasks and later doing the tasks themselves, while in school, the task is usually to learn what is written in the textbooks. The children learn the textbook lessons mainly by memorizing them. Here it is to be noted that by highlighting the two learning methods, we do not imply that the children do not follow other learning methods. Both at home and in the school, children learn certain tasks by listening. For example, girls say that they learn about tusar rearing mainly by listening to their parents, while in the school children often say that they learn school tasks by listening to the teachers.

Learning in real situation vs. learning though imagination: Both in the home and the school, the children are introduced to particular objects and places. At home, the children deal mainly with real life objects such as cocoons and the village rearing sites in tusar rearing, while in school children learn about particular objects and places mainly by trying to imagine them, for example, the iron and steel industry and Bombay city. At home children are always in direct contact with real objects; in school teachers often explain about objects by giving hypothetical examples.

Learning through kinship vs. learning out of the kinship fold: Parents and teachers assume two types of authority models in the minds of the children. While parental authority is embedded in kinship obligations and duties within the house, the clan and the village, a teacher's authority belongs to the realm of the non-tribal, *Diku* world, even though some of the teachers in Parampancho school are tribal. Learning problems occur when there is clash between the two types of authority. The children in Parampancho accept the existing authority structure within their households and the village. Besides their parents and elders, they respect clan elders and the village headman. The traditional authority of the parents and village elders is re-enforced by various factors, such as land ownership, knowledge of household skills, ceremonial knowledge and kinship rights. The children feel secure in learning knowledge or skills under the guidance of kith and kin. Teachers do not enjoy similar authority over children in the school because traditional authority does not extend to teachers. Children receive physical punishment from teachers as a negative reflection of their performance in the school (such as poor attendance and non-completion of school tasks).

While parents consider passing on their knowledge and skills as their moral duty, the children consider it a right to inherit them and, thereby, parents do not have to repeatedly urge their children to learn. The Ho attitude to domestic knowledge and skills is related to their perception of it as Ho. School teachers are neither parents nor kin. They are specialised instructors trained to teach

a prescribed syllabus in a set place. They are persons appointed by the agencies outside the home or the village where the school is situated. It is rare to find that teachers come from the same village in which they teach. So, primary schools take children out of the kinship network. The teachers do not consider teaching in the school as a social duty, but as legal or contractual work. They stick to the school time-table. They do not teach beyond the school hours.

Reinforcement: positive vs. negative: Both parents and teachers use certain incentives or punishments as re-enforcements while teaching particular knowledge and skills. Parents state that they make selective use of love, threats and occasionally beatings to motivate the children into learning, while teachers assume more detached postures but often use physical punishment (such as beating with sticks) and rebukes to enforce discipline in the classroom. Unlike parents, teachers treat all children equally. The field data show that despite some similarities, parents and teachers treat children differentially. The children reported that, although both parents and teachers beat them, they differed greatly in terms of emotional support. While parents showed love and affection, the teachers did not and were indifferent. Teachers rely mainly on punishment in controlling the children's behaviour, often beating them when they do not do the school work satisfactorily, come late, quarrel, make a noise or disobey the teachers. They keep sticks with them which frighten the children (see plate 6.12). Teachers' use of rewards and punishments is very erratic. According to the children, parents do not beat older children. Parents vary about the use physical punishment. Some parents support the idea of beating children particularly if they do not concentrate on the tasks allotted to them but some reject the idea of using physical punishment. Parents make selective use of rewards and punishments and sometimes praise through gestures (such as smiling and patting on the back). Verbal praise is not contingent or frequent in the domestic setting.

Teaching and learning according Ho traditions vs. teaching and learning according to non-Ho cultural traditions: Parents emphasize their Ho identity in their day-to-day encounters with the children. They consider it important that their children learn the Ho way of doing household works and be made aware of various Ho rituals associated with the day-to-day tasks. They encourage children's interest specifically in Ho activities, such as hunting and tusar rearing. The less restrictive child-rearing practices of the Ho in the village are in line with their cultural practices, such as drinking *handia* during the *Maghe* or the *Bā parob*, playing with the bow and arrow or the knives, playing near the fire, climbing trees and gathering fruits. Children often claim freedom by imitating elders or adult members in the village. However, this is not to deny that Ho parents have clear expectations about acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. They encourage them to learn Ho manners and etiquette and participate actively in religious ceremonies. Parents also encourage children's independence and allow them a considerable degree of freedom and responsibility. A strong sense of peer solidarity is encouraged by parents and they do not chide them when they are with their friends. During festivals, the children enjoy considerable freedom from parental control.

Thus, despite certain similarities, the Ho household and the school differ greatly in terms of their methods of teaching and learning. While household methods of teaching and learning are characterized by doing, dealing with real life objects, learning through the kinship network, in an affectionate environment and according to Ho cultural traditions, school methods of teaching and learning are characterized by memorization, using one's imagination, learning in a specialised institution with specialised teachers and impersonal relations, promoting 'outside' mainstream culture.

8.4.1 Perceptions of the Polarity of Methods

As discussed above, there is a polarity between home and school teaching and learning methods. But the perception of this polarity varies from child to child and from

parent to parent.

Table 8.12
How do you learn household chores?(MEHQ1C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Memorizing 1	Memorizing 2	Total
Boys	1		10 100.0	10 100.0
Girls	2	1 10.0	9 90.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	1 5.0	19 95.0	20 100.0

Table 8.12 shows that in learning household chores, children use mainly learning by doing. Of the 20 sample children, 95 per cent say that they rely mainly on learning by doing. This method is associated with their active participation in household tasks although learning by doing is also associated with other methods, such as learning by observing and learning by playing. Very often in the domestic setting these methods operate simultaneously. Table 8.13 shows that, in school, children learn mainly by memorizing. Of the sample children, 90 per cent say that they learn the school tasks mainly by memorizing them. According to the teachers, the children have to memorize the texts, because most of the topics they read in the school textbooks are new to them and in order to complete the task in the time allocated they often have to resort to memorizing entire lessons. Furthermore, since the children have to prove to the teachers at they have completed the tasks, they rehearse them several times until the delivery becomes automatic.

Table 8.13
How do you learn the school tasks?(MESQ3C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Memorizing Both(Doing and Memorizing) 1	3	Total
Boys	1	9 90.0	1 10.0	10 100.0
Girls	2	9 90.0	1 10.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	18 90.0	2 10.0	20 100.0

Concerning the use of physical punishment, the children point out that both teachers and parents beat them. Tables 8.14 and 8.15 indicate that of the 20 sample children, a large number have been beaten in both the home and the school. In school, 80 per cent of children said that the teachers beat them, while at home 60 per cent said that their parents beat them. Children who were beaten in school also pointed out that teachers beat more often than parents. The Tables also show that, although children are subject to some form of discipline both at home and in the school, 40 per cent reported that their parents did not beat them at all (see Table 8.14), while only 20 per cent said that the teachers did not beat them at all (see Table 8.15). According to the teachers, they beat only those children who make unruly scenes in the classroom, do not obey them and do not complete their classroom tasks. Parents also say that they sometimes have to beat their children (but not heavily with sticks), when they do not obey them, when they quarrel with their siblings or peers, or when they mix with bad company.

Table 8.14
Do your parents beat you?(MEHQ2C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Yes 1	No 2	Total
Boys	1	6 60.0	4 40.0	10 100.0
Girls	2	6 60.0	4 40.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	12 60.0	8 40.0	20 100.0

Teachers state that the use of physical punishment by teachers in the classroom is quite common in the region. Parents often delegate this right to teachers. They often assert that the teachers have equal rights over the children when it comes to discipline in the classroom.

Table 8.15
Did or do the teachers beat you in the classroom?(MESQ1C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Yes 1	No 2	Total
Boys	1	8 80.0	2 20.0	10 100.0
Girls	2	8 80.0	2 20.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	16 80.0	4 20.0	20 100.0

However, the teachers also said that nowadays there are some parents who do not like their children to be beaten by teachers. According to the children, the teachers beat them more often than their parents. Furthermore responses indicate that, although parents show love and affection to the children, teachers do not.

Children take an interest in various cultural and religious household and community routines. Parents encourage them to participate in Ho religious festivals. The Ho are renowned for the celebration of their annual festivals such as Maghe or Bā. In these festivals, children dance with their peer groups and elders, but not all children participate equally.

Table 8.16
Do you like dancing during the Maghe or Bā parob? (MEHQ4C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Yes	No	Total
		1	2	
Boys	1	3	7	10
		30.0	70.0	100.0
Girls	2	7	3	10
		70.0	30.0	100.0
	Column Total	10	10	20
		50.0	50.0	100.0

Table 8.16 shows that only half of the children admitted that they often danced with their friends during the festivals, the rest said that they did not like dancing. The Table also shows that, in terms of gender, boys and girls participated in the festivals differentially. While 70 per cent of the boys said that they did not like dancing, 70 per cent of the girls said that they liked dancing during the Maghe or Bā festivals. Thus, although there is polarity between the home and the school in terms of methods of teaching and learning, the perception of the polarity of methods varies from child to child and from parent to parent. For example, not all the children say that they

learn household chores only by 'doing'. According to one girl, she learned some household tasks such as tusar rearing, by listening to her parents. The children admitted that they were beaten both at home and in the school. The data from the sample children show that larger numbers of children reported that the teachers beat them, than reported that their parents beat them. Furthermore, the children also pointed out that the teachers beat them more often than their parents. And while parents, even if they beat them love them too, the teachers do not love them, they just beat them. Moreover the children show differential responses to the cultural events. For example, dancing is important in Ho religious festivals such as the *Maghe* and *Bā*, but not all children like to dance in the religious festivals. But if looked at in terms of gender, girls show greater interest in dancing than boys.

8.5 Language Polarity: Language of Communication in Domestic Teaching and Learning and Language of Communication in School Teaching and Learning

In both home and school teaching and learning, language plays an important part (see Chapters 6 and 7). In the home, the mother tongue, Ho, is the sole language of communication, but in school both Ho and Hindi are used. The children who study in school often experience a language polarity. According to the teachers, most of the children are not able to speak in Hindi till they finish primary school even if they are able to read and write in Hindi. The PPS teachers contend that the children are not able to speak in Hindi, because they do not get opportunity to speak or listen in Hindi outside the school. In other words, their parents do not speak to them in Hindi.

Here it is to be noted that only school-educated Ho know Hindi which excludes most parents, while some who have a school education and speak Hindi do not speak to their children in Hindi. To them, Hindi is meant for outside communication only. But in order to understand the nature and extent of the language polarity between the home and the school, it is important to bear in mind some of the important differences between the Ho and Hindi languages (see Figure 8.1). The children who study in the school have to face the language change in order to make progress in their school

studies.

Figure 8.1
Distinction between the Ho and the Hindi Languages

Ho	Hindi
1. language group:	1. language group:
a) belongs to the Austro-Asiatic language family.	a) belongs to the Indo-European language family.
2. script:	2. script:
a) does not have its own script but has started to use the modified Devanagari script;	a) uses the Devanagari script;
b) disjunction between letters and phonemes:	b) unity between letters and phonemes:
c) the Ho language has no aspirates,	c) the language has aspirates such as 'kh' and 'dh',
d) the Ho words do not end with the letter 'h' (borrowed terms are the exceptions),	d) there are several Hindi words which end with letter 'h',
e) the Ho words do not begin or end with consonant clusters such as kk and dd,	e) there are several Hindi words which begin and end with the consonant clusters;
f) the length of vowels are phonemic.	f) no such emphasis on the lengths of the vowels and their phonemic features.
3. grammatical features:	3. grammatical features:
a) unchangeable primary roots in nouns, verbs and adjectives;	a) changeable primary roots especially in nouns and verbs,
b) three numbers: singular, dual and plural;	b) two numbers: singular and plural,
c) separate forms in the 1st person dual and plural when the person spoken to is included ('we including you'), and he is excluded ('we excluding you'),	c) no such case in the Hindi grammar,
d) distinction between animate and inanimate beings - central to the Ho syntactics,	d) no such emphasis in the Hindi syntactics,
e) use of postposition,	e) use of preposition
f) no gender categorization.	f) gender categorization is central to the Hindi syntactics.

(Source: adapted from Deeney, 1975)

The Ho household language vs. the use of two languages (Hindi and Ho) as the media of communication: While at home, the communication between the children and their parents is monolingual, that is through the Ho language only, in the school, the communication between the children and the teachers is bilingual, that is through both the Ho and Hindi languages. All the members of the village speak to their kith and kin in Ho language only[4]. The school children only have to read and write in Hindi, as the school textbooks are written only in Hindi. But the teachers are bilingual and so can speak both Hindi and Ho. They use both Hindi and Ho in classroom teaching by first reading a lesson in Hindi, and then explaining it in both Hindi and Ho. According to the PPS teachers, learning Hindi is essential for the children if they want to get ahead with their school education. To them "Ho is the language of the home, but Hindi is the language of the school."

Use of both verbal and non-verbal means of communication vs. frequent use of verbal means of communication: Both at home and in school, verbal and non-verbal means of communication are used. But while at home, the parents make frequent use of non-verbal means such as gestures and postures, in the school the teachers rely mainly on non-verbal means. For example, at home while explaining household chores parents indicate by pointing with their fingers and tilting their eyes. Deeney recalls that the Ho, in general, frequently use gestures to communicate particular messages. For example, when asked 'Where do you live?' they indicate with their hands the direction in which their village or houses are located (after Deeney, 1992). The use of non-verbal communication at home is related to the close relationships between participants and the use of the mother-tongue. As mentioned earlier, the use of the mother-tongue facilitates the use of gestures. In school teachers often give verbal commands such as 'Do this!' or 'Do that!' to execute any classroom activity. The frequent use of verbal communication by the teachers is related to their distant relation (or non-kinship) with the children and the

[4] The outsiders find it very difficult to communicate to the villagers, as felt by the researcher himself (see Chapter 3).

dominance of Hindi as the language medium of communication.

Equality vs. dominance: in terms of participation in communication: The children's participation in both domestic and classroom communication is guided by certain terms or conditions. At home there is equality in terms of expressing ideas, but in school, the teachers are dominant in making their views or ideas heard. Children and their parents say that at home children participate actively in the day-to-day household discussions. Often they initiate inquiries. Some parents consider that the children enjoy this freedom because of the use of mother-tongue in domestic communication. In the school, the children become passive in their communication with the teachers. They do not ask questions. They follow what the teachers say without much intervention. The dominance of Hindi as the main school language puts the children at a disadvantage in terms of their participation in classroom communication.

Relationship between language and culture: local vs. national: For a Ho child, both Ho and Hindi are the important languages to learn. While Ho is their mother tongue and the sole language used at home, Hindi is a national and official language and also the main language of the school, college and university. The two languages differ greatly in terms of their grammatical features (see Figure 8.1). Furthermore while the Ho language is associated mainly with the cultural practices of the Ho community, Hindi is related mainly with non-Ho (and non-tribal or *Diku*) cultural practices. Although the Ho language is very rich in dealing with the local realities, linguists and the state authorities note that the language has problems in tackling 'outside' world objects. As Deeney (1975: IX) says

> The language (Ho) is not equipped for translating works on modern technologies, nor on other categories with which these mountain and village dwellers have not grappled. But when discussing categories with which Hos deal in their everyday life, the Ho language is a very supple instrument for expression.

Thus there is polarity between the home and the school in terms of language of communication. While Ho is the sole language of communication between the children and their parents, Ho and Hindi are the languages of communication between the children and the teachers. For a Ho child, study in the PPS is a gradual journey from Ho to Hindi. For many children, this task continues well into secondary schooling. The bilingual teachers are mediators for the children between the textbooks written in Hindi and their mother tongue, a task which all the teachers agree is very difficult, as the two languages differ greatly (see Figure 8.1). The use of Hindi as the main language affects the communication between children and teachers because this is mainly verbal. Communication between parents and children is characterized by the use of both verbal and non-verbal means. Furthermore while teachers dominate in classroom communication, parents give freedom to the children in domestic communication. With domestic communication, there is a unity of language and culture, but in school communication there is a disjunction between the children's language of communication (Ho) and the school culture delivered through the textbooks.

8.5.1 Perceptions of the Language Polarity

As discussed above, there is polarity in terms of the language used at home and in the school, but the perception of the polarity varies from child to child, and from parent to parent. In this sub-section, we shall describe how individual children and their parents perceive the polarity. When asked "in what language do you speak to your parents?", all the children of the sample said that they spoke to their parents only in Ho. About school they say that they speak in Ho too. The children further pointed out that they did not understand when the teachers spoke only in Hindi. It is only when the teachers speak in Ho, they are able to understand what they say. Table 8.17 shows that 75 per cent of the sample children found the teachers difficult to understand when they spoke only in Hindi, while the rest were uncertain about it.

Table 8.17

Did or do you face any problem in understanding the school when the teachers spoke in Hindi?(LMSQ3C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Yes 1	Uncertain 3	Total
Boys	1	7 70.0	3 30.0	10 100.0
Girls	2	8 80.0	2 20.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	15 75.0	5 25.0	20 100.0

The children pointed out that the teachers did not always speak in Ho. It is only in the first grade that they explain in Ho. Later they very often explain in Hindi. According to the teachers, it is important for the children to learn Hindi as soon as possible.

Table 8.18

Would you have taken or will you take more interest in school study, if the teachers spoke only in Ho.(LMSQ5C)

GENDER	Count / Row %	Yes 1	No 2	Uncertain 3	Row Total
Boys	1	8 80.0	1 10.0	1 10.0	10 100.0
Girls	2	9 90.0		1 10.0	10 100.0
	Column Total	17 85.0	1 5.0	2 10.0	20 100.0

Table 8.18 shows that of the 20 sample children, 85 per cent said that they would have taken more interest in school study, if the teachers had taught them in Ho language only. Some parents agree with the children that Ho should be the sole language in the classroom and that the teachers should teach only in Ho, because the children will understand better. But not all the parents share this view.

Table 8.19
In what language, should the PPS teach your child?(LMSQ1F)

Count / Row %	Ho	Hindi	Both	Total
	1	2	3	
OCCUPATION				
1 Tusar farming	5	4	1	10
	50.0	40.0	10.0	100.0
2 Non-tusar farming	4	2	4	10
	40.0	20.0	40.0	100.0
Column Total	9	6	5	20
	45.0	30.0	25.0	100.0

According to some parents, learning Hindi is a very important part of a school education and so the teachers should concentrate more on teaching in Hindi than in Ho. Tables 8.19 and 8.20 show that only 45 per cent of parents felt that the teachers should teach only in Ho, the rest either supported teaching in Hindi, or in both Ho and Hindi.

Parents who support the school teaching in Hindi only, contend that speaking in Hindi is important for higher school education and jobs in government offices. One parent says, 'the sooner the children learn to speak in Hindi, the better their chances are for further school education and government jobs.' Parents who emphasize teaching in both Ho and Hindi contend that, in the initial stage of school education, children need to use both languages and that children learn to understand Hindi properly only at a

later stage. This case applies to both fathers and mothers (see Tables 8.19 and 8.20).

Table 8.20
In what language, should the PPS teacher teach your child?(LMSQ1M)

Count / Row %	Ho	Hindi	Both	
	1	2	3	Total
OCCUPATION				
1 Tusar farming	4 40.0	3 30.0	3 30.0	10 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming	5 50.0	2 20.0	3 30.0	10 100.0
Column Total	9 45.0	5 25.0	6 30.0	20 100.0

As we discussed earlier, parents often use both verbal and non-verbal means to communicate with their children.

Table 8.21
How do you communicate with your child while teaching household tasks?(LMHQ1F)(Fathers)

Count / Row %	Verbally	Both	
	1	3	Total
OCCUPATION			
1 Tusar farming	2 20.0	8 80.0	10 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming	2 20.0	8 80.0	10 100.0
Column Total	4 20.0	16 80.0	20 100.0

Table 8.21 shows that among fathers, only 20 per cent said that they used mainly verbal means, while 80 per cent that they used both verbal and non-verbal means. Among mothers, 55 per cent said that they used both verbal and non-verbal means, while 20 per cent said that they used non-verbal means and 25 per cent said that they used verbal means (see Table 8.22).

Table 8.22
How do you communicate with your child while teaching household tasks?(LMHQ1M) (Mothers)

Count / Row %	Verbally 1	Non-verbally 2	Both 3	Total
OCCUPATION				
1 Tusar farming	3 / 30.0	3 / 30.0	4 / 40.0	10 / 100.0
2 Non-tusar farming	2 / 20.0	1 / 10.0	7 / 70.0	10 / 100.0
Column Total	5 / 25.0	4 / 20.0	11 / 55.0	20 / 100.0

Although there is not much difference between the parents in terms of their occupations, Tables 8.21 and 8.22 show that unlike fathers, some mothers admitted to the use of non-verbal means in communication with their children.

Thus the perception of the language polarity varies from child to child and from parent to parent. While some children admitted that they had problems in understanding the teachers when they spoke only in Hindi, others were uncertain about it. Furthermore, while the children in general supported school teaching only in Ho, the parents gave mixed responses. With regard to the use of verbal and non-verbal means in their communication with children, some parents admitted to the use of both verbal and non-verbal, while others pointed out that their communication was mainly either verbal or non-verbal.

8.5 Conclusion

In Parampancho, the home and the school are two main sites of teaching and learning. Both offer various types of knowledge and skills, both pursue certain goals and expectations in the education of the children, both use certain methods in teaching and learning, and both use particular languages. But despite a number of similarities between them, they differ greatly in terms of these four dimensions (see Figure 8.2). They differ because parents and teachers assume different roles in the teaching of the children. They teach different topics, they set different goals, they use different techniques, and they use different languages. For example, within the household the children learn domestic chores, but in the school they learn topics of national and international importance. While the household prepares the child for Ho adulthood in the village, the school offers prospects in the wider national society. While one uses methods of learning by doing, the other uses learning by memorizing. Furthermore, while the mother-tongue prevails as the sole language of communication at home, the school depends on two languages. While the household teaches 'inside' Ho knowledge and skills, prepares the child for the Ho world, uses Ho methods of teaching and learning and follows the mother-tongue, the school teaches outside, *Diku* knowledge, prepares the child for outside world, uses outside methods of teaching and learning and follows outside language (Hindi) of communication.

One may say that for a Ho child, while his or her home is a Ho (inside) world, the school is a *Diku* (outside) world. As the two different worlds exist within Parampancho, Ho children studying in the school, participate in both worlds. But the nature and extent of participation and perception of the two worlds varies from child to child and from parent to parent. In the chapter we discussed in brief how children and their parents perceived the polarity between the home and school in terms of content, motivation, method and language. From the discussion it emerged that not all the children perceived the polarity similarly, for example, male and female children responded differently. Although there was not much difference between parents in terms of occupation, a marked difference was found between fathers and mothers in their perception of the polarity. In several cases, while fathers were categorical (i.e.

replying in 'yes' or 'no'), mothers were often uncertain about any of their answers (for example, replying 'both' when asked 'whether the children would do tribal or non-tribal occupation in future'). Thus, although there may be a general case of polarity between the home and the school in Parampancho, children and their parents perceive the polarity differentially. In the next chapter, we shall discuss how differential perceptions of the polarity are associated with conditions of dropping-out or staying-in the school.

Figure 8.2
The Polarity between the Home and the School in Parampancho.

Home				School			
Content	Motivation	Method	Medium	Content	Motivation	Method	Medium
1. household chores 2. contextualized knowledge and skills 3. gender based knowledge and skills, 4. oral knowledge 5. holistic knowledge	1. to supplement household tasks 2. to assume adult roles 3. to learn to earn 4. to work within the village 5. to learn about own cultures	1. learning by doing 2. learning in real situation 3. learning through kinship network 4. use of positive reinforcements 5. teaching and learning according to Ho traditions	1. Ho as the sole language of communication at home 2. use of both verbal non-verbal means 3. equality in terms of participation in domestic communication 4. relationship between Ho language and Ho culture	1. school tasks 2. de-contextualized knowledge and skills 3. grade-based knowledge, 4. written knowledge 5.compartmentalized knowledge	1. to concentrate on school tasks 2. to get school education-based government job 3. to learn to learn more 4. to work outside one's own village 5. to learn about other cultures	1. learning by memorizing 2. learning through imagination 3. learning out of kinship fold 4. frequent use of negative reinforcements 5. teaching and learning according to Non-Ho cultural traditions	1. the use of two languages (Hindi and Ho) in classroom communication 2. frequent use of verbal means of communication 3. dominance of teachers in classroom communication 4. relationship school languages and national mainstream cultures

Chapter 9
Drop-out: A Product of Polarity

> Tusar rearing and studying in school do not go along together. As both works demand full involvement. You have to choose either of the two. For example, one person cannot be both a police and a teacher at one time.
>
> A Ho elder

9.1 Introduction

Up until now we have discussed the two main components of this research, that is, drop-out and polarity, separately. In Chapter 5, we analyzed the nature and extent of drop-out from the Parampancho Primary School and in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 we pointed out the polarity between the Ho home and the school as two sites of learning and teaching. The main purpose of this chapter is to show the relationship between the problem of drop-out from the school and the polarity. We first describe the relevance of the concept of polarity in investigating the problem of drop-out and then explain in detail how the drop-out children perceive the polarity and compare their perceptions with those of children who stay on to complete their primary schooling. For a comparative analysis of drop-out and stay-in children, we concentrate mainly on the twenty sample children (eg. 10 drop-outs and 10 stay-ins; see Chapter 3). Later in the chapter, we illustrate links between the problem of drop-out and polarity through further analysis of learning difficulties and classroom maladjustment. Children drop-out due to their perception of the polarity between home and school and the associated difficulties they experience with the learning and behavioural practices of the classroom. This is demonstrated by the fact that the children who drop-out of school perceive a greater degree of polarity and have experienced greater learning difficulties than those who stay on in school.

9.2 Causes of Dropping-out from the PPS: the rationale for the application of the Concept of the Polarity

When asked "Why children drop-out from the school?" a Ho elder in Parampancho said, "Children drop-out because they do not feel like studying in the school. No parents remove their child from the school if he/she is showing interest in the school study and doing well in the classroom." Parents often point out that children who are lazy and careless in their school studies drop-out (see Figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1
Reasons of dropping-out from the PPS

Drop-out children	Reasons for dropping-out		
	Children	Fathers	Mothers
1. DOB1:TF	lack of bicycle	laziness, stubbornness, bad company and lack of money	laziness
2. DOB2:TF	ashamed due to poor marks in exams	don't know 'why'	no interest in school study
3. DOG1:TF	laziness	carelessness	laziness
4. DOG2:TF	lack of books	laziness	carelessness and laziness
5. DOG3:TF	ashamed due to poor marks in exams	housekeeping work during mother's pregnancy	household work during her pregnancy
6. DOB3:NTF	laziness	irregular in attendance	no interest in school study, always playing with his friends
7. DOB4:NTF	lack of books	laziness	at his own will, no interest in school study
8. DOB5:NTF	felt bored in the school	no interest in school study	laziness
9. DOG4:NTF	laziness	laziness	laziness
10.DOG5:NTF	leg injury	laziness	leg injury, laziness, and household work

DOB = Drop-out boy; DOG = Drop-out girl; TF = Tusar Farming; NTF = Non-tusar Farming

The reasons mentioned by the sample children for drop-out include lack of bicycles, poor marks in examination, laziness, lack of school textbooks, boredom and leg injury. According to the parents, the children dropped-out of primary school due to carelessness, laziness, lack of interest in school study, bad company and household work. Here we argue that the reasons pointed out by the children and their parents are superficial manifestations of the enduring or underlying factor of polarity between the home and the school. As not all children drop-out of school, and some complete the course, we shall show the link between drop-out and polarity by comparing drop-outs' and stay-ins' perceptions of the polarity and their experiences of learning difficulties. The next section shows that the drop-out children and their parents who mentioned the immediate or surface reasons perceived the polarity between the home and the school to a greater extent than those who stayed on in school.

The central proposition of this research is that the children drop-out of school due to their experience and perception of polarity. As we discussed in Chapter 8, the school operates as a polarised site of learning and teaching in contrast to the Ho household. School children experience the polarity at the levels of content, motivation, method and language medium. In this research, we also argue that it is the polarity which results in learning difficulties and classroom maladjustment. In the following sections, we shall compare drop-out and stay-in children to identify similarities and differences in their perceptions of the polarity and experience of learning difficulties in the school.

9.3 Perception of the Polarity: the Drop-out and the Stay-in children and their parents

In Chapter 8, it was suggested that in Parampancho the home and the school exist as two polarised social institutions involved with the education of Ho children. It was also suggested that the perception of the polarity varied from child to child and from parent to parent. In this section, we shall describe how two groups of children i.e drop-outs and stay-ins perceive the polarity in terms of content, motivation, method and medium.

9.3.1 Content Polarity: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

As discussed in Chapter 8, although there exists a polarity between the home and the school in terms of knowledge content, children and their parents perceived the content polarity differentially. In this subsection, we explore the perceptions of drop-out and stay-in children selected in the sample, that is, we consider to what extent their perceptions of the knowledge content at home and in the school differ.

9.3.1.1 Domestic Knowledge: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

Earlier discussions on domestic knowledge (see Chapters 6 and 8) established that all children learned domestic knowledge and skills, such as tusar rearing and paddy farming, mainly by helping their parents in household work (see Figure 9.2). This applies to both drop-outs and the stay-ins. As one drop-out child said,

> At home, I often help my parents in their work. For example, I bring drinking water from the tube-wells, I look after vegetables in the *bagan* (vegetable garden); and take the cattle out to the field for grazing.

Similarly while pointing out their involvement in household tasks, one stay-in child said,

> I often help my mother at home. For example, early in the morning before going to school, I fetch drinking water from the tube-well, clean utensils, do a little bit of cooking and bits of works. That's how I help my mother.'

Although both the drop-out and the stay-in children are similar in terms of their affirmation of their help in household tasks, they differ in terms of the nature and extent of that help. While stay-in children's help is mainly confined to indoor household tasks, such as looking after younger siblings and cleaning utensils depending on their availability during out of school hours, the drop-out children show an active participation in both indoor and outdoor household tasks, such as paddy

farming and vegetable gardening irrespective of school hours. As one stay-in child said,

> I help my parents only when I am free. If needed I do some work inside the house as well such as looking after my younger sister. Sometimes, during the vacation period, I take cattle out for grazing in the field.

Unlike the stay-ins, the drop-out children said that they participated actively in household activities. For example, according to a drop-out child,

> I often helped my parents in the daily household work even when I was studying in school. However now after leaving school, I do all the household work that my mother does such as fetching water, cooking food, cleaning house, bringing wood from the jungle, washing utensils, drying, winnowing, crushing rice, etc.

Besides the children, their parents too differed to a certain extent in pointing out their children's involvement in household chores such as tusar rearing. Although parents were largely uncertain about the teaching of tusar rearing at home, a marked difference was noticed between the parents of the drop-out and the stay-in children (see Table 9.1 and Figure 9.2). Of the sample, only 20 per cent said that they taught tusar rearing to their children, the rest said they either did not teaching it or were 'uncertain'. The parents who were uncertain about teaching tusar rearing at home did not deny the possibilities of involving the children in the rearing to some extent. Unlike the parents of the drop-outs, 70 per cent of the parents of the stay-ins denied teaching tusar rearing to their children because it would disturb their school studies. The mother of one stay-in child said, "We do not teach our son tusar rearing or paddy farming, because he is studying in the school. We do not want to disturb his study." Teaching or not teaching about particular household tasks depends upon the degree of child involvement in particular tasks and upon the goals and expectations of the parents (a topic of discussion in the next section).

Table 9.1
Do you teach tusar rearing to your child?(Parents)

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs	4	2	14	20
	20.0	10.0	70.0	100.0
2 Stay-ins		14	6	20
		70.0	30.0	100.0
Column Total	4	16	20	40
	20.0	75.0	5.0	100.0

The differential involvement of children in tusar rearing applies to their involvement in paddy farming as well. While the parents of the drop-outs were largely uncertain about whether they taught paddy farming to their children, the parents of the stay-ins denied teaching paddy farming to their children (see Figure 9.2). The field data also suggest that it is often the parents who encourage their children to learn tusar rearing at home encourage them to learn paddy farming as well. According to the father of one drop-out child,

> Yes, I tell my children about tusar work; I also teach my children about paddy cultivation, for example, how to plough land, how to guide bullocks, how to sow seeds into the land.

It is interesting to note that the difference in terms of parental teaching of particular household activities reflects the difference in children's claims to know household chores, such as tusar rearing and paddy farming. Both with tusar rearing and paddy farming, drop-out children were largely uncertain whether they knew all about household tasks, but the stay-in children denied any knowledge of them (see Figure 9.2 and Table 9.1).

Furthermore there is a difference in the extent to which drop-out and stay-in children participate in certain domestic activities such as hunting and fishing. Although hunting[1] is a significant Ho *Adivasi* activity (see Chapters 4 and 6) it is mainly the drop-out children who acknowledge that they hunt in the jungles (see Figure 9.2). For example, one drop-out[2] said, "I very often hunt birds and small animals in the bushes. During summer, it is great fun to trap birds in the hills." Unlike drop-out children, the stay-ins very often do not involve themselves in hunting. As a stay-in said, "I do not hunt because I study in the school. The teachers ask us not to kill any birds and animals. According to them, it's bad to kill any harmless birds or animals."

Like hunting, stay-in children denied involvement in fishing or were uncertain about it (Figure 9.2). For example one drop-out child said, "I enjoy fishing because I know all the techniques. I often catch a lot of fish." However the stay-in children found fishing a domestic activity which would distract them from their school studies. As one stay-in said, "I do not fish because I go to school regularly. My father does not like me doing fishing. It takes up a lot of time."

9.3.1.2 School Knowledge: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

Both the drop-out and stay-in children and their parents in general pointed out the lack of teaching of household activities, such as tusar rearing in school (see Figure 9.2). As one stay-in child said,

> The teachers do not teach us anything about tusar rearing. They simply teach us Hindi letters such as a, ā, i, ī, u and ū. They teach us Hindi poems and stories, but nothing about tusar rearing.

[1]Increasing deforestation and a decline in the number of wild animals have led to a decline in hunting among the Ho in Parampancho. However it still survives as a significant *Adivasi* activity among the more traditional Ho and ceremonially in the community at large.

[2] Here it is to be noted that hunting , following the Ho sexual division of labour, is a male pursuit and even among the drop-outs it is the boys who show active interest in this pursuit.

Although the children complain about the absence of teaching of tusar rearing in school, they were divided ('yes' or 'uncertain') about whether they would take more interest in school if they were taught it (see Table 9.2 and Figure 9.2).

Table 9.2
Taking an interest in school study if tusar rearing was taught in school (Children)

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1	5		5	10
Drop-outs	50.0		50.0	100.0
2	3		7	10
Stay-ins	30.0		70.0	100.0
Column Total	8		12	20
	40.0		60.0	100.0

Some drop-out children did not want to enter into such speculation. One drop-out child (B:DO:1) said,

> What is the use of thinking about whether I would have taken more interest or not when I have already left the school. It really was the question suitable for my school days, I could have thought about that then.

It is interesting to note that the level of support for the idea of teaching tusar rearing in school was greater among the drop-outs than the stay-ins and, furthermore, the level of uncertainty was greater among the stay-in children than among the drop-outs (see Table 9.2). However some of the children whose parents were involved in tusar rearing did agree that they would have taken more interest in school study, if they had been taught about tusar rearing. In the words of one drop-out girl,

> Certainly I would have taken more interest in school study, if I was taught about tusar rearing in school. My father is a tusar rearer. I often watch him when he is involved in rearing. That's why, it would have been more interesting.

Besides the household chores, both the drop-out and the stay-in children pointed out the lack of teaching about Ho life and culture in general in the school. One drop-out said, "If the PPS teachers had taught me about the Ho people like us, I certainly would have taken more interest in school study, and probably[3] would have continued my study." Similarly according to some stay-in children, although the teachers quite often spoke in Ho, they did not speak about the Ho people. In the words of a stay-in child, '"The teachers in the PPS do not teach us anything about the Ho or any adivasi people. They teach about the *Diku* mainly the Hindus."

Although both the drop-out and the stay-in children pointed to a lack of teaching of Ho life and culture in the school, the two groups differed in terms of number and stay-in children supported the idea of teaching of Ho life and culture in the school in larger numbers than the drop-out children (see Figure 9.2). Furthermore, the stay-in children showed more confidence in having their say in school matters than the drop-outs. The drop-out children's views about the school on the other hand were limited by their experiences of household work.

Like the children, there was no difference between the parents of drop-out and stay-in children in their opinion about the lack of teaching of household activities such as tusar rearing and paddy farming or Ho life and culture in general in the school. The parents of both the drop-outs and stay-ins were unanimous in pointing out the lack of teaching of household activities and Ho life and culture in general. They considered that the school teaches mainly about the *Diku* (non-Ho and non-tribal culture) and does not teach anything about Ho life and culture. As the father of one drop-out said,

[3]The use of the word 'probably' indicates that the child recognizes other factors were also responsible for his decision to drop out.

> There is no teaching of Ho life and culture in the school. Our children are taught about *Diku* culture. That's why they do not take much interest in school study. In my understanding, Ho *Adivasi* children must be taught about their own culture. They will understand the school teaching materials on their culture better than those on the *Diku* culture.

But it should be noted that the parents of both the drop-outs and stay-ins pointed to a lack of teaching of Ho life and culture in the school. On the question of 'whether the PPS should teach household activities or Ho life and culture in the school or not?' they either supported the idea or were uncertain about it but they did not reject it. However there was a difference between fathers' and mothers' opinions. While fathers of both the drop-out and stay-in children supported the idea of teaching household activities, such as tusar rearing, or Ho life and culture in the school, mothers of both the drop-out and the stay-in children were uncertain about it. As discussed in Chapter 8, the mothers were often uncertain about any categorical choices, especially if they were on school matters. To them, the school is an adult male affair. For example, while a father said, "our children should be taught about Ho life and culture in the school", a mother said, "How can I suggest whether the school should teach about Ho culture and customs in the school? This is for our male elders to decide. "

Table 9.3
What games and sports do you play? (COSQ8C)

Schooling Profile	School only (1)	Home only (2)	Both (3)	None (4)	Total
1 Drop-outs		4	5	1	10
		40.0	50.0	10.0	100.0
2 Stay-ins	2	4	2	2	10
	20.0	40.0	20.0	20.0	100.0
Column Total	2	8	7	3	20
	10.0	40.0	35.0	15.0	100.0

Besides the children's involvement in household chores and school tasks, their involvement in various types sports and games provides an added insight into children's perceptions of the polarity between the home and the school. Although both drop-out and stay-in children are to a certain extent involved in both home and school games and sports, the nature and extent of their participation in the sports indicates their increasing and decreasing interests in home and school affairs (see Figure 9.2 and Table 9.3). Table 9.3 shows that the drop-out children stick mainly to home sports and games or play both home and school games and sports. For example one drop-out child said, "I play *kabaddi*, *guli-danda*, *lattoo* and football." The stay-in children, on the other hand, are more specific in their choices of home and school games and sports, and some admitted that they concentrated on school sports such as football. As one stay-in child said, "I like playing football. It is the best among all the sports."

Thus the drop-out and the stay-in children are both similar and different in their perceptions of the knowledge content at home and in the school (see Figure 9.2). In the home setting, both the drop-out and the stay-in children admitted that they learned household chores by helping their parents, but they differed in terms of the nature and extent of participation in household work. While the drop-out children participated actively in outdoor household activities, such as paddy farming, the stay-in children's participation was confined mainly to indoor household activities. For example, while the parents of the drop-out children were largely uncertain about the teaching of household chores, such as tusar rearing and paddy farming, the parents of the stay-in children denied teaching household chores intentionally to their children. Although the parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins were uncertain about the teaching of Ho life and culture at home, the level of uncertainty was greater among the parents of the drop-out children. Furthermore, while the drop-out children admitted that they participated actively in traditional activities such as hunting and fishing, the stay-in children either denied being involved in such tasks or were uncertain about them.

In the school setting, although both drop-out and stay-in children pointed out the lack of teaching of household chores or Ho life and culture in the school, when asked 'whether they would have taken more interest in the school, if they had been taught

Figure 9.2
Measures of Association (lambda λ) between drop-outs and stay-ins: Content

matters of association		lambda value λ	Association between Drop-outs and Stay-ins
H O M E	1. helping parents in the household chores	0.1	Both the drop-out and stay-in children said that they often helped their parents in household works.
	2. teaching of tusar rearing at home	0.6	While the parents of the drop-outs were uncertain about teaching tusar rearing to their children, the parents of the stay-ins denied teaching tusar rearing to their children.
	3. teaching of paddy farming at home	0.8	While the parents of the drop-outs were uncertain about teaching paddy farming to their children, the parents of the stay-ins denied teaching paddy farming to their children.
	4. teaching of Ho life and culture at home	0.2	The parents of both the drop-outs and stay-ins were uncertain about the teaching of Ho life and culture at home, but the level of uncertainty was higher among parents of the former than among the latter.
	5. knowledge of tusar rearing	0.7	While the drop-outs although admitted having some knowledge of tusar rearing but were uncertain about its extent, the stay-in children admitted having no working knowledge of tusar rearing.
	6. knowledge of paddy farming	0.6	While the drop-out children were largely uncertain about the extent of their knowledge of paddy farming and did not deny having some knowledge of it, the stay-in children admitted that they did not know paddy farming.
	7. hunting birds and animals	0.4	While the drop-out children admitted that they quite often hunted birds and small animals, the stay-in children denied having any such involvement in hunting.
	8. fishing	0.7	While the drop-out children admitted their usual involvement in fishing, the stay-in children denied such involvement or were uncertain about it.

S C H O O L	9. teaching of tusar rearing in the PPS	0.1	Both the drop-out and stay-in children pointed out that there was no teaching of tusar rearing in the school.
	10. interest in the case of teaching of tusar rearing in the PPS	0.2	Although both the drop-out and the stay-in children were uncertain about taking an interest in school study in tusar rearing in the school, the level of uncertainty was higher among the stay-ins than among the drop-outs.
	11. teaching of Ho life and culture in the school	0.3	The stay-in children supported the idea of teaching of tusar rearing in the school in greater numbers than the drop-out children.
	12. parental view on the teaching of Ho life and culture in the school	0.1	The fathers of both the drop-outs and stay-ins supported the idea of teaching Ho life and culture in the school.
		0.0	The mothers of both the drop-outs and stay-ins were mainly uncertain about the idea of teaching Ho life and culture in the school
	13. teaching of household chores in the school	0.0	The fathers of both the drop-outs and stay-ins were unanimous in their support for the teaching of household chores such as paddy farming and tusar rearing in the school.
		0.0	The mothers of both the drop-out and stay-in children were mainly uncertain about teaching household chores such as paddy farming and tusar rearing in the school.
	14. retention of school knowledge	0.5	While the drop-out children admitted that they did not retain the things taught in the school, the stay-in children affirmed that they retained most of the things taught in the school.
	15. sports and games	0.3	Although both the drop-outs and stay-ins admitted in large numbers that they played both home and school games and sports, but while on the one hand some drop-outs did not concentrate exclusively on school sports, and some stay-ins played school sports only.

about household chores, such as tusar rearing and paddy farming?', the drop-outs were less uncertain and more in favour than the stay-ins. Similarly in the case of teaching Ho life and culture in the school, a larger number of stay-in children rejected it than drop-outs. But parents in general (i.e of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins) did not reject the idea of teaching Ho life and culture in the school. They either supported it or were 'uncertain' about it. However while fathers supported the teaching of tusar rearing and Ho life and culture in the school, mothers in general were uncertain about such matters. In terms of the children's participation in home and school games and sports, there was an indication that while the drop-outs were most interested in home games and sports, the stay-in children, on the other hand, were most interested in school sports.

9.3.2 Motivational Polarity: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

As discussed in Chapter 8, a polarity existed between the home and the school in terms of goals and expectations and the perception of the motivational polarity varied from child to child and from parent to parent. In this section, we describe the extent to which the drop-out and the stay-in children are similar and different in their perceptions of the goals and expectations in both the home and the school.

9.3.2.1 Goals and Expectations of Domestic Learning and Teaching: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

The parents of both drop-outs and stay-ins admitted that learning household tasks such as tusar rearing and paddy farming were essential for their children. They expected their children to participate in the day-to-day household tasks to some extent, as their help was integral to the smooth running of the household. According to parents, tusar rearing is an important household task for their children to learn for two reasons, economic and cultural. Tusar rearing is important in an economic sense, because it brings money into the household. It is also culturally important because

by the very act of rearing they appease their ancestor spirits.

But there is a marked difference between parents of drop-outs and stay-ins in terms of their emphasis on cultural and economic aspects of tusar rearing. In pointing out the need for their children to learn tusar rearing, the parents of the drop-outs emphasized both the cultural and economic goals of tusar rearing, but the parents of the stay-ins stressed mainly cultural aspect of tusar rearing. For instance, with regard to the economic aspects of tusar rearing, the parent of one drop-out said,

> Children must learn about tusar rearing. It is a very useful skill. Any time in life, one can make use of it and thereby earn one's own livelihood. It is useful especially, if one has to stay at home.

The parent further noted the cultural aspect of tusar rearing, "Tusar rearing is our ancestral occupation. The Ho people have been doing it since time immemorial. It must be continued by my children even after my death." In contrast, the parent of one stay-in child said, "We should teach our children tusar rearing, as through it they will learn more about their Ho culture. But it is not necessary that they will be a tusar rearer, after completing school education."

In fact, as further data analysis show, the parents of the drop-out and the stay-in children differed greatly in terms of their awareness of distinctions between learning a particular household task and adopting it as a future occupation. While the parents of the drop-out children believed in the unity of learning a household task and adopting it as future occupation, the parents of stay-ins often emphasized a distinction between learning and occupation goals in domestic learning and teaching.

But it is not only parents who differed in terms of pointing out the goals of household tasks, a marked difference was noticed between the drop-out and the stay-in children in terms of goals for the household tasks such as tusar rearing and paddy farming. When asked, 'Would you like to do tusar rearing in future?', in comparison to 40 per cent of the drop-outs, 80 per cent of the stay-in children said no (see Table 9.6 and Figure 9.3).

Table 9.4
Would you like to do tusar rearing in the future?(MOHQ1C)

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs	2	4	4	10
	20.0	40.0	40.0	100.0
2 Stay-ins		8	2	10
		80.0	20.0	100.0
Column Total	2	12	6	20
	10.0	60.0	30.0	100.0

Unlike the stay-in children, out of ten drop-outs, two willingly accepted that they would be tusar rearers in the future. The drop-outs who said they were 'uncertain' did not exclude the option in the future. Furthermore that the drop-out children who willingly accepted being tusar rearers in the future were aware of both its cultural and economic significance. As one drop-out said,

> I think, some day I will have to rear tusar like my father. Tusar rearing is a Ho adivasi occupation. We can earn money by selling cocoons. Yes, I will rear tusar, if I get time. As I grow, I shall think about that.

The stay-in children on the other hand rejected the idea of doing tusar rearing in future. Out of ten sample stay-in children, two were uncertain about being a tusar rearer in future, but unlike the drop-outs, no stay-in child accepted willingly tusar rearing as a future occupation. To them, school education signified a future occupation based on school education. As one stay-in child said, "No I shall not be a tusar rearer in the future. I do not like household work. After finishing my education, I will take any government job and will work in cities." Here it is important to take into consideration that this applies to other household tasks, such as paddy farming and vegetable gardening. Drop-out children said that in the future they would be doing paddy farming, while stay-in children affirmed that they did not want

to be paddy farmers in the future (see Figure 9.3). For instance, while one drop-out child said, "I will be a paddy farmer in the future, as it is the main occupation in the village", one stay-in child said, "I will not be paddy farmer in the future, I want to be a government officer."

The difference between the drop-out and the stay-in children in terms of their future occupation is related also with their choice of workplace. When asked, 'Where would you like to work in future?' while the drop-out children mentioned that they would be doing work mainly available within the village, the stay-in children did not limit their job prospects to the village (see Figure 9.3). According to the stay-ins, they would like to work in the cities, because working within the village will mean doing mainly paddy farming and tusar rearing. Parents agreed with their children's answers. The father of a drop-out child said, "I never thought of my son working out of the village, even when he was going to school."

Furthermore, the parents of the drop-outs and the stay-ins differed in terms of their expectations concerning household occupations. When asked 'would you like your children to continue your household occupation?', while the parents of the drop-out children admitted that they would like their children to continue their household occupations, the parents of the stay-ins either denied having such expectations for their children or were uncertain (see Figure 9.3).

While the goals and expectations of the drop-out children were limited by job prospects within the village, that is doing paddy farming and tusar rearing, the goals and expectations of the stay-in children went beyond the prospects of the village boundary to working in government offices in cities or in other outside areas.

9.3.2.2 Goals and Expectations of School Learning and Teaching: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

Like most parents in the village, the parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins admitted that school education was essential for children (see Figure 9.3) because primary schooling is the first stage in acquiring a modern school education. One parent stated,

> Children get *budi* by studying in primary school. They learn letters. They gain confidence in talking to the *Dikus* in markets and towns. They get the opportunity to study further. I want my daughter to complete school education and get a job so that she can be married properly.

Here it is to be pointed out that, although the parents of both drop-outs and stay-ins emphasized the importance of primary school education, they differed in terms of their awareness of the benefits of primary school education as such. For example in pointing out the benefits of primary schooling, parents of drop-outs mentioned the general and long term benefits of school education (that is, to get school *budi*, to get a job, and to earn money). As the parent of one drop-out said, "Studying in primary school is necessary. The children get *budi*. *Budi* gives job. And job gives money." While the parent of one stay-in child said,

> If the children do not go to primary school, where and how will they learn letters. The learning of letters begins with primary school only. After completing the primary school course, the children go to secondary school for further education.

Furthermore the parents of the drop-outs and the stay-ins differed in terms of their plans for their children's school education. When asked 'Up to what level of education did or do you want your child to study?', while the parents of the drop-outs reported having no such plans, the parents of the stay-ins mentioned particular levels of education (such as primary/secondary/college) as the minimum desirable target (see Table 9.5 and Figure 9.3).

Table 9.5

Up to what level of education did or do you want your child to study in the PPS?(Fathers)

Count / Row %	Primary	Secondary	College	No idea	
	1	2	3	4	Total
Schooling Profile					
1 Drop-outs				10 100.0	10 100.0
2 Stay-ins	4 40.0	3 30.0	3 30.0		10 100.0
Column Total	4 20.0	3 15.0	3 15.0	10 50.0	20 100.0

Here it should made clear that among the parents of the stay-ins, while the fathers mentioned various other levels of primary schooling for their children (see Table 9.5), the mothers of the stay-ins were concerned mainly with the completion of primary school education (see Table 9.6).

Table 9.6

Up to what level of education did or do you want your child to study in the PPS?(Mothers)

Count / Row %	Primary	Secondary	College	No idea	
	1	2	3	4	Total
Schooling Profile					
1 Drop-outs				10 100.0	10 100.0
2 Stay-ins	10 100.0				10 100.0
Column Total	10 50.0			10 50.0	20 100.0

Besides the plans for school education, the parents of the drop-outs and the stay-ins differed in terms of their expectation of their children's future occupation. When asked, 'What do you want your child to be in future?', the parents of the drop-outs

wanted to keep their options open for both household and non-household occupations, while the parents of the stay-ins affirmed that they expected their children to take up a non-tribal occupation (mainly working in government offices) (see Figure 9.3). As the parent of one stay-in child said, "I do not think that after getting a school education, children should do paddy farming or tusar rearing. They should go out of the village and work somewhere in government offices." Some parents of the stay-in children set definite goals for their children, for example, to become a clerk, or a police inspector, or a school teacher. The parents of the stay-ins often asked what was the use of a school education, if the children would have to do paddy farming or tusar rearing after completing their education.

But unlike the parents of the stay-ins, the parents of the drop-outs kept their option open to both household and non-household occupations. According to them, these days school education does not guarantee jobs. So they felt it was important to keep the children prepared for an alternative, to studying in schools and colleges. The parent of a drop-out said,

> I think, children will have to do tusar rearing in future. Because these days no matter how much they get educated, it is very difficult to get a government job. That's why the children should be taught the household tasks, such as paddy farming and tusar rearing, so that they can depend on them for their livelihood if they do not get school education based jobs.

It is to be noted that among the parents unlike the fathers, the mothers of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins that children should be prepared for both tribal and non-tribal occupations (see Figure 9.3). As one mother of the sample said,

> Parents always expect their children to stand on their own feet. They should be able to look after themselves. So whatever way, they should earn money to feed their children when they grow up as adults and establish their own families.

With regard to the issue of a stipend as an incentive, the parents of both the drop-out and the stay-in children denied that they sent their children to the school for stipend only (see Figure 9.3). The parents of the drop-outs further pointed out that

their children did not leave school due to non-payment of stipend money. As the parent of one drop-out said,

> My son did not leave school, because of the non-payment of stipend but due to his laziness and carelessness. Although he got stipend only once, but I do not think that he left school due to stipend. I do not know what was the main reason of leaving the school. When asked, he mentioned about bicycle only. But no child in the village goes to the primary school on bicycle.

Like the parents of the drop-out children, the parents of the stay-in children do not agree that their children go to the primary school only for the stipend. As the parent of a stay-in said,

> My son will continue his study, even if he does not get stipend in future. I am sending my son to the PPS for school education and not for money. That is a very small amount. He will continue his education at any cost.'

Furthermore, the drop-out and the stay-in children differed in terms of their interests in school study and being aware of the links between school education and jobs in government offices or jobs in private factories in cities. The drop-out children said that they did not like to study in school or were unaware of the long term links of primary schooling and school education based jobs. The stay-in children, on the other hand, said that they were keen on continuing school education and acquiring jobs based on that school education in the future.

Thus the drop-outs and the stay-ins have certain similarities and differences in their perceptions of the goals of a school education and expectations in both the home and school setting (see Figure 9.3). Although the parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins admitted that learning household tasks is essential for their children, they differed in terms of emphasis on particular goals and expectations. In the case of tusar rearing, while the parents of the drop-outs emphasized both the economic and cultural importance of tusar rearing, the parents of the stay-ins were concerned only with the cultural goal of tusar rearing. This difference according to drop-out stay-in

parental group is also found in a expectation of their children. When asked whether they would like their children to continue a household occupation, the parents of the drop-outs said yes, while the parents of the stay-ins either said no or were uncertain. The drop-out and the stay-in children like their parents, differed in terms of their goals for domestic learning. While the drop-out children agreed that their prospects lay in household occupations, the stay-in children did not. Furthermore while the goals and expectations of the drop-out children were limited by job prospects within the village (that is doing paddy farming and tusar rearing), those of the stay-ins went beyond the village boundary, that is, working in the government offices in cities or in other outside areas.

In the school setting, the parents of both the drop-out and stay-in children pointed out that primary schooling is essential for the children. But in terms of a particular level of schooling as the expected target, while the parents of the drop-out children had no expected targets, the parents of the stay-in children mentioned a particular level of schooling or higher education as the target they expected for their children. The difference in the parental expectation of a desirable level of school education showed a relationship with their expectation of being involved in household and non-household occupations. While the parents of the drop-outs were open-ended in terms of their expectations for their children's future occupation, the parents of the stay-ins showed a determination to put their children on the path towards jobs in government offices and cities. Furthermore the parents of both the drop-out and the stay-in children denied that they sent their children to school only for the stipend. The parents of the drop-out children defended such spending by saying that there is no use spending money on their children's schooling if they are not interested in school study. While the drop-out children admitted that they took more interest in household chores than in school tasks, the stay-in children said that they took equal interest in household chores and school tasks. Furthermore while the drop-out children did not like school study or were uncertain about their goal of studying, the stay-in children were unanimous about their keen interest in school study and its association with jobs in government offices and in cities.

Figure 9.3
Measure of Association (lambda λ) between drop-outs and stay-ins: Motivation

matters of association		lambda value λ	Association between Drop-outs and Stay-ins
H	parental views on the importance of tusar rearing for their children	0.1	The parents of both the drop-outs and stay-ins agreed that learning tusar rearing was very important for their children.
O	goal of tusar rearing in future	0.4	While the drop-out children gave a mixed response to the goal of tusar rearing in future (i.e. some were affirmative, some negative and some even uncertain), the stay-in children were mainly negative in their answers about their future involvement in tusar rearing.
M	goal of paddy farming in future	0.5	While the drop-out children admitted that in the future they would be doing paddy farming, the stay-ins affirmed that they did not want to be paddy farmers.
E	parental expectation of continuation of household occupation	0.6	While the fathers of the drop-outs expected their children to continue a household occupation, the fathers of the stay-ins denied having such expectation of their children.
		0.6	While the mothers of the drop-outs expected their children to continue a household occupation, the mothers of the stay-ins were uncertain.
	occupational goals	0.8	While drop-out children admitted that their future lay in the village and they doing mainly work available within the village boundary, the stay-in children did not limit their job prospects to the village. According to the stay-ins, they would like to work in government offices located in cities.

S C H O O L	importance of primary schooling	0.0	The parents of both the drop-outs and stay-ins admitted that primary school education was essential for children.
	parental expectation of children's future occupation	0.5	While the fathers of drop-outs accepted both household and non-household occupations (or tribal and non-tribal) as the future occupation of their children, the fathers of the stay-ins expected their children to be involved in non-tribal and non-household occupations only.
		0.1	The mothers of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins showed their preference for both tribal and non-tribal occupations for their children.
	parental expectation of the completion of particular level of school education	1.0	While the fathers of the drop-outs did not have plans for their children's future education, the fathers of the stay-ins mentioned particular levels of school education as targets.
		1.0	While the mothers of the drop-outs had no plan for the completion of particular level of school education, mothers of the stay-ins mentioned the completion of primary schooling as the minimum target.
	stipend as the goal of school attendance	0.0	The parents of both drop-outs and stay-ins said that they did not send their children to the school for stipend money only.
	interest in the school study	1.0	While the drop-out children did not like school study or were uncertain about their goal of studying, the stay-in children were unanimous about their keen interest in school study and were aware of its association with the jobs in government offices or in cities.

9.3.3 Method Polarity: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

There is a polarity between the home and the school in terms of the methods of learning and teaching (see Chapter 8). While home methods of learning and teaching are characterized by learning by doing, learning in the affective environment and learning according to Ho cultural traditions, school methods of learning and teaching are characterized by learning by memorizing, learning in an impersonal environment and learning according to the outside, mainstream cultural traditions. The data show that the perception and experience of the polarity and learning difficulties varies from child to child and from parent to parent. In this subsection, we shall analyze the extent to which the drop-outs and the stay-ins are similar and different in their perceptions of the methods of learning and teaching both in the home and the school.

9.3.3.1 Methods of Domestic Learning and Teaching: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

The parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins stated that the children learned household tasks mainly by doing, by observing others doing and by listening. According to a parent,

> Children learn household chores in various ways. They learn while helping us in the day-to-day household works. When we talk about paddy farming or tusar rearing, they listen our talks. Sometimes they come along to the field, observe us working in the field, and try to imitate.

The parents often pointed out that they too learned household tasks mainly by observing their parents involved in the household tasks and later by doing them themselves. As about his own learning of tusar rearing, one parent (father) said,

> There is no school and no teacher of tusar rearing in the village. I learnt tusar rearing by observing my father and other rearers in the village. They did not teach me. I learnt with my own *budi*. I used to watch them doing everything. Sometimes I helped my father in looking after the worms. Later I started my own rearing. While doing it, I learnt so many things about rearing.

But a marked difference was noticed between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in the extent to which the methods of learning by doing and listening are used by them. While the drop-out children affirmed that they learned the household tasks mainly by doing, the stay-ins admitted that they learned household tasks both by doing and listening. Here it is to be noted that the difference between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in their use of methods of learning and doing is related to the nature and extent of participation in household tasks.

Table 9.7
How do you learn tusar rearing at home?

Schooling Profile	Type-A (doing, watching, listening)	Type-B (listening, watching)	Total
Drop-outs	3 (30 %)	7 (70 %)	N = 10 (100 %)
Stay-ins	3 (30 %)	7 (70 %)	N = 10 (100 %)
TOTAL	6 (30 %)	14 (70 %)	N = 20 (100 %)

The drop-outs use the method of learning by doing more than the stay-ins because they are more directly involved in outdoor household activities such as paddy farming and tusar rearing than the stay-ins (see Figure 9.3). On the other hand, since the stay-in children are less involved in household tasks than the drop-outs, they rely mainly on listening to their parents. While pointing out that they learn by doing, one drop-out child said,

> Our parents show us how while doing it at home. For example, they ask us to watch how they rub *ranu* on the *lungam* (tusar) eggs, how to attach the *kuli* (the leaf bags) with the tree leaves, how to cut the branches of the *asan* tree so that the *lungam chidu* (the larva) should not fall from the tree. Sometimes they allow us to do certain activities. I am often with my father, when the

rearing season begins.

It is to be noted that the parents of the drop-outs also emphasized the importance of the method of doing in learning the household tasks. As the father of a drop-out child said, "Children do not learn just by observing. To learn any skill properly, they have to do the skill themselves. Gradually as they keep on doing the task, they learn the skill."

In the case of learning through a particular network of persons, as the parents share a close relationship with their children, the learning at home involves close bonds of kinship. Both the drop-out and the stay-in children admitted that they learnt household tasks through the kinship network, that is, mainly from their parents. The parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins said that they used love, persuasion, threats and sometimes beating to make children learn a particular household task. We noticed a marked difference between the parents of the drop-outs and the stay-ins in their views on the use of beating in enforcing discipline in children. While the parents of the drop-out children admitted that they beat their children often, the parents of the stay-ins pointed out that they used beating only occasionally (see Figure 9.4).

In terms of their views on the impact of beating on their children, while the parents of drop-outs pointed out that they were uncertain about its 'good' or 'bad' impact, the parents of the stay-ins showed awareness about the differential impacts of beating (see Figure 9.4). However while the fathers of the stay-ins said that beating did not help children in learning particular household work, the mothers of the stay-ins pointed out that selective use of beating made the children disciplined and obedient. For example according to the father of one stay-in child,

> None should beat the children, because beating does not help them in learning anything. It only disturbs the children's mind. Beating makes them stubborn. Later even when one threatens or uses sticks, they simply refuse to do the work. Sometimes they just flee to the forest. They do not concentrate on learning the skill, even when they agree to do the work.

Table 9.8
Do you feel fear talking to your parents? (MEHQ6C)

Row %	Yes	No	
	1	2	Total
Schooling Profile			
1	1	9	10
Drop-outs	10.0	90.0	100.0
2	6	4	10
Stay-ins	60.0	40.0	100.0
Column	7	13	20
Total	35.0	65.0	100.0

It is interesting to note that the drop-outs and the stay-ins reacted differentially to the parental beating. While the drop-out children said that they did not feel afraid of their parents despite being subject to their frequent beating, the stay-in children said that they were afraid of their parents although they beat them only occasionally (see Figure 9.4 and Table 9.8). This supports what the mothers of the stay-in children said about the impact of selective beating.

Table 9.9
Do you like drinking *handia*? (MEHQ3C)

Count / Row %	Yes	No	
	1	2	Total
Schooling Profile			
1	7	3	10
Drop-outs	70.0	30.0	100.0
2		10	10
Stay-ins		100.0	100.0
Column	7	13	20
Total	35.0	65.0	100.0

Furthermore, the drop-outs and the stay-ins differed in terms of their interest and involvement in specific Ho cultural activities, such as drinking *handia* (rice beer) and dancing in the religious festivals. While the drop-out children said that they enjoyed drinking *handia* especially during the festivals, the stay-ins were unanimous in their dislike of *handia* because it is intoxicating and not suitable for their school studies (see Figure 9.4 and Table 9.9). Similarly in the case of participating in the festival dance, while the drop-out children said that they actively participated in it and also enjoyed it as well, the stay-ins said that they did not like dancing (see Figure 9.4 and Table 9.10).

Table 9.10
Do you like dancing during the *Maghe* or *Bā parob*? (MEHQ4C)

Schooling Profile	Yes (1)	No (2)	Total
1 Drop-outs	7	3	10
	70.0	30.0	100.0
2 Stay-ins	3	7	10
	30.0	70.0	100.0
Column Total	10	10	20
	50.0	50.0	100.0

9.3.3.2 Methods of School Learning and Teaching: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

School learning is characterized mainly by methods such as learning by listening and memorizing, learning in impersonal environment, learning in accordance with outside norms. Both the drop-outs and the stay-ins admitted that they learnt school tasks mainly by listening to the teachers and memorizing school textbooks. But while some of the drop-outs emphasized that they depended mainly on learning by memorizing textbooks, the stay-ins pointed out that they depended on both memorizing and

listening to the teachers. As one stay-in said, "I memorize school tasks both by reading textbooks and listening to the teachers. It is easier to understand any lesson when the teachers explains it to us."

With regard to learning through a particular social network and in a particular social environment, the teachers assume strict and indifferent postures towards children (see Chapters 7 and 8). Unlike parents, they do not use love and persuasion in classroom teaching and very often use sticks to enforce discipline. Although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins reported that the teachers used to beat them, more drop-outs had been beaten than stay-ins (see Figure 9.4).

Table 9.11
Did or do you feel fear in talking to the teachers? (MESQ2C)

Count / Row %	Yes	No	
	1	2	Total
Schooling Profile			
1 Drop-outs	9	1	10
	90.0	10.0	100.0
2 Stay-ins	2	8	10
	20.0	80.0	100.0
Column Total	11	9	20
	55.0	45.0	100.0

Furthermore a marked difference was noticed between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of their being afraid of the teachers. While the drop-out children reported that they were afraid of the teachers when they were studying in the school, the stay-in children denied being afraid of the teachers (see Figure 9.4 and Table 9.11). For example, according to one drop-out child,

> I never went to the teacher to ask anything. I had heard that the teachers beat when anyone goes to ask them very often. The teachers did not beat me because most of the time I was absent from the school. I used to go to the forest with books and slates and returned home along with my friends when the school closed.

The stay-in children on the other hand, show a positive attitude towards the school and the teachers. They do not interpret the beatings from the teachers in a negative sense. Often, they escape any physical punishment in the classroom. As one stay-in child said,

> The teachers do not beat always, they beat only occasionally when we do not complete the school tasks. They do not beat when we do not make noises but are busy in the study. I do not fear them. I talk to them freely and don't feel a kind of fear in asking questions. They do not beat without a cause.

The stay-ins equate the teachers' beating with parental beating. According to them, like parents the teachers also have the right to beat them. They beat them for their welfare. As reported, they treat both the teachers and their parents with respect. They are their second parents[4]. According to another stay-in,

> I don't fear the teachers, because they don't beat me. They don't beat me because I always obey them. I do whatever they ask me to do. And whenever I have any difficulties in completing the school tasks, I just ask them. They are like my parents.

The drop-out children, unlike the stay-ins, see a contradiction between the teachers' treatment and parental behaviour towards them. As one drop-out explained,

> I was always afraid of the teachers. Because they talked in loud voices when I asked. They beat me, when I made any mistake or did not bring my slate and books. They always shouted in the classroom. They waved the sticks to

[4] The idea of equating parents with teachers come from the Hindu mythologies and is well demonstrated in the epics such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. In some cases, teachers have a priority in assigning any moral authority over the children. Many Ho who are exposed to the non-tribal or the Hindu culture accept this norm when they send their children to school. The children of such parents are often seen as docile. They conform to the authoritarianship of the teachers in the conduct of the classroom activities.

> threaten us in the school. Especially one teacher was very moody. However some times my parents beat me too but not during teaching something or doing something. They are very happy, when I do the household work. That time even if I make mistake, they do not beat me. They beat me only when I do not listen to them, or use foul words against my younger brother or sister. Although sometimes they beat me, but I know they love me too.

While dealing with the school methods we also considered the awareness and concern of parents about their children's school activities. The parents of the drop-outs and the stay-ins differed to a certain degree in their awareness of the children's school activities. When asked, 'Did or do you ask your children about their school activities?', while the parents of the drop-outs said no, the parents of the stay-ins pointed out that they often asked their children about things taught in school (see Figure 9.4). The awareness difference between parents reflects to certain extent the children's commitment towards doing homework because, while the drop-out children said unanimously that they did not do homework, some of the stay-ins said that they did all the homework (see Figure 9.4) and often read school textbooks at home during out of school hours such as in the evening or during school vacation.

Furthermore the drop-out and the stay-in children differed to a certain extent in terms of their negative feelings towards the teaching of non-Ho culture in school. While the drop-out children showed their dislike of this, the stay-ins were indifferent towards it. For example, according to one drop-out, "If the teachers in the Parampancho primary school had taught me about the Ho *Adivasi* people, I certainly would have continued. I am not interested in the *Diku* or Hindi people." However one stay-in said, "We go to school to learn new things. I am not concerned whether it is Ho or non-Ho."

Thus, in their perception of the methods of learning in both the home and the school the drop-outs and the stay-ins have certain significant similarities and differences (see Figure 9.4). For example, although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins pointed out that they learned household chores mainly by observing, doing and listening, the two groups of children are different in terms of their emphasis on particular methods in both the home and the school. While the drop-outs agreed that they learned household tasks such as paddy farming and tusar rearing mainly through active participation, the stay-in children, on the other hand, pointed out that due to less participation in the

outdoor household activities, they relied mainly on listening to their parents and other family members. In terms of learning through social networks, although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins pointed out that they learned household tasks mainly under the guidance of their parents, and parents too said that they used love, persuasion and threats, there was a marked difference noticed between the parents of the drop-outs and the parents of the stay-ins with regard to the use of physical punishment. While the parents of the drop-out children said that they beat their children quite often, the parents of the stay-in children said that they beat their children only occasionally. In terms of parental awareness of the impact of beating, while the parents of the drop-out children were unaware of the effects of beating on their children, the parents of the stay-in children pointed out both the positive and negative impacts. Nevertheless, although the fathers of the stay-in children pointed out the negative impact of beating on the children's attitude to learning, the mothers of the stay-in children considered that the selective use of physical punishment made them disciplined and respect their elders. There was a difference between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of their response to beatings. While the drop-out children said that they were not afraid of their parents, the stay-ins said they were. In terms of learning according to cultural norms, the drop-out children admitted taking an interest and being involved in certain Ho-specific activities, such as drinking and dancing, while the stay-in children did not.

In the school setting, although both the drop-out and the stay-in children said that they learned school tasks mainly by listening to the teachers and memorizing school textbooks, the two groups of children differed in terms of emphasis on learning by listening. But, interestingly, while some drop-out children said that they depended mainly on memorizing in completing school tasks and did not concentrate on what the teachers were explaining in the classroom, the stay-in children pointed out that they used both learning by memorizing and listening to the teacher. Furthermore, although both the drop-out and the stay-in children reported being beaten by teachers in the classroom, the drop-out children admitted being afraid of the teachers because of the beatings, while the stay-in children denied being afraid of the teachers. Furthermore, the drop-out and the stay-in children differed in terms of doing school homework such as reading school textbooks during out of school hours. While the

Figure 9.4
Measure of Association (lambda λ)between drop-outs and stay-ins: Method

matters of association		lambda value λ	Association between Drop-outs and Stay-ins
H O M E	Household learning methods	0.1	Both the drop-out and the stay-in children said that they learn household chores mainly by observing elders working or by working themselves.
	learning by doing vs. learning by listening	0.5	While the drop-out children said that they learned household tasks mainly by doing, the stay-ins said they learned the household tasks mainly by listening.
	Beating in the household	0.0	Both the drop-outs and stay-ins admitted unanimously that their parents beat them whenever they did not obey them or did something wrong.
	parental view on beating	0.4	While the parents of the drop-outs said that they beat their children often, parents of the stay-ins they beat their children only occasionally.
	afraid of parents	0.5	While the drop-out children pointed out that they did not fear their parents, the stay-in children admitted that they were afraid of their parents.
	parental view on the effects of beating on the children's learning activities	0.5	While the fathers of the drop-outs were mainly uncertain about the positive or negative impact of beating on their children's learning activities, the fathers of the stay-ins argued that beating did not help children in learning a particular household task.
		0.7	While the mothers of the drop-outs were uncertain about the impacts of beating on their children, the mothers of the stay-ins said that selective beating deterred children from doing anything terribly wrong and the children obeyed them.
	drinking *handia* (rice beer)	0.7	While the drop-out children said that they liked drinking *handia*, the stay-in children pointed out that they did not like drinking *handia*.
	dancing during festivals	0.4	While the drop-out children said that they liked dancing during festivals, the stay-ins pointed out that they did not like dancing.

S C H O O L	Learning methods in the school	0.2	Although both drop-out and stay-in children admitted that they learned school tasks mainly by listening to the teachers and memorizing school textbooks, the drop-outs admitted that they depended mainly on the method of learning by memorizing and, the stay-ins pointed out that they used both the methods of learning by memorizing and listening.
	Teachers' beating of children	0.2	Both the drop-out and stay-in children pointed out that the teachers used to beat them, but the drop-outs reported this in larger numbers than the stay-ins.
	Children being afraid of teachers	0.7	While the drop-out children reported that they were very much afraid of the teachers when they were studying in the school, the stay-in children denied being afraid of the teachers in the classroom.
	parental opinion on the quality of schooling teaching	1.0	When asked, 'Is the school teaching children properly?', the fathers of the drop-outs reported 'unaware', while the fathers of the stay-ins gave categorical replies (that is, either saying 'yes' or 'no'). However among the fathers of the stay-ins, a larger number of fathers appreciated the quality of school teaching than criticized it.
		0.4	Among the mothers although the mothers of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins were uncertain about the quality of the school teaching, the level of uncertainty was greater among the mothers of the drop-outs than among those of the stay-ins. Like their husbands a large number of the stay-ins' mothers were pleased with the quality of the school teaching.

drop-out children said that they did not study school textbooks at home after coming from the school, the stay-in children pointed out that they often studied school textbooks both at home and in the school. Moreover the parents of both drop-out and stay-in children differed in terms of their concern for their children's academic progress. While the parents of the drop-out children said that they did not ask their children about their school activities, the parents of the stay-in children said that they often did and sometimes even helped them to complete their school tasks.

9.3.4 Language Medium Polarity: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

There exists a polarity between the home and the school in terms of language of communication (see Chapter 8). While the domestic context is characterized by use of Ho as the sole language of communication, supported with the use of non-verbal communication, the school is characterized by bilingual communication (i.e the use of both Ho and Hindi), little use of non-verbal means, the dominance of teachers in the classroom, and relationship of Hindi as the main language of communication with national mainstream culture. In Chapter 8, we discussed how the perception of the language polarity varies from child to child and from parent to parent. In this subsection, we shall examine the extent to which the drop-outs and the stay-ins are similar and/or different in terms of their perceptions of language use.

9.3.4.1 Domestic Language Medium: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

Both the drop-out and the stay-in children reported that they spoke only Ho at home (see Figure 9.5). They also pointed out that they did not have any problems in communicating with their parents or listening them talk as they too spoke only in Ho at home. However, although domestic communication for both the drop-out and the stay-in children was only in Ho, some stay-ins often went with their parents to Chaibasa town, where they often had the opportunity to hear Hindi.

Table 9.12
How do you communicate with your child?(LMHQ1F)

Count / Row %	Verbally (1)	Non-verbally (2)	Both (3)	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs			10 100.0	10 100.0
2 Stay-ins	4 40.0		6 60.0	10 100.0
Column Total	4 20.0		16 80.0	20 100.0

With regard to the question of the use of verbal and non-verbal means in domestic communication, the parents of the drop-outs said they used both verbal and non-verbal communication with the children, while the parents of the stay-ins said that their communication with their children was mainly verbal (see Figure 9.5 and Table 9.12). For example, the father of one drop-out child said,

> I do not have to use verbal commands when children work alongside with me. I just point out with finger or tilt my eyes to indicate what or how to do a particular work. However sometime I use verbal commands, when he is at a distance.

Nevertheless the father of one stay-in said,

> I teach my son mainly verbally. Because a child learns more when he hears voice. The non-verbal instruction is mainly for the dumb people. The persons with proper ears must be taught verbally.

The difference here between the drop-outs and the stay-ins is matter of degree only, because the emphasis on the verbal does not mean that they do not use non-verbal means. The parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins said that they did not use any written material in communicating with their children, although some parents (of

the stay-ins) showed an awareness in terms of the availability of certain literature in the Ho language.

With regard to participation in domestic communication, both the drop-outs and the stay-ins said that they had no problems in communicating with their mothers at home, but the two groups of children differed in terms of communication with their fathers. While the drop-out children said that they enjoyed more freedom in communicating with their mothers than with their fathers, the stay-ins affirmed that they enjoyed freedom with both.

9.3.4.2 Languages of the School: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

Both the drop-outs and the stay-ins pointed out that they spoke mainly Ho in school (see Figure 9.5) because they did not know Hindi. However, some of the stay-in children said their knowledge of Hindi had improved over the years[5]. Although both the drop-out and the stay-in children pointed out that they faced various kinds of difficulties due to the dominance of Hindi in school, the two groups of children differed in terms of nature of their language difficulties. While the drop-out children said they had problems in reading, writing and speaking in Hindi, the stay-in children said that, although they had problems in speaking, they did not have much problem in reading and writing in Hindi. Furthermore the number of the children who reported language problems was higher among the drop-outs than among the stay-ins (see Figure 9.5). According to one drop-out child, "When the teachers spoke in Ho, I understood. But I did not understand their Hindi. Some teachers used to explain in Ho. To me, even reading and writing in Hindi was very difficult."

Furthermore, we noticed a marked difference between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of their understanding of classroom when the teachers spoke only in Hindi. While the drop-outs were uncertain about their level of understanding when the

[5]The drop-out children's problems of learning Hindi has been reinforced by their drop-out status.

teachers spoke in Hindi only, the stay-in children largely noted that they did not have problems in understanding the teachers' Hindi. For example, one drop-out said, "Yes, I felt a number of difficulties in reading and understanding Hindi. I could not speak Hindi. Although I could understand some words, but could not speak properly." Conversely a stay-in child said, "I do not have problem in understanding or speaking in Hindi, because I know Hindi letters and words. I can both speak and understand Hindi." Similarly another stay-in child said, "I do not have any problem in reading and understanding Hindi. I understand everything taught by the teachers in the classroom."

In writing in *Devanagari* script, although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins admitted problems, the number of such cases reported was higher among the drop-outs than among the stay-ins (see Figure 9.5). It is interesting to note that although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins supported the idea of having all the teaching materials only in Ho, the point was emphasized more by the drop-outs than the stay-ins. As one drop-out said,

> I certainly would have taken more interest in school study, if I was taught everything written in Ho. I would have understood the school tasks quickly. Reading books in Ho language is good, because it is our mother tongue.

Unlike the drop-outs, the stay-ins supported the idea of school teaching in Hindi only. For example one stay-in child said, "Hindi language should be taught in the school, because I learn Ho language at home. The current situation is better. It's better to be taught in Hindi, because I like it more."

Furthermore although both the drop-out and the stay-in children indicated that the teachers were strict in the classroom in terms of correction of wrong pronunciation of Hindi words and children were hesitant, the two groups of children differed in terms of participation in communication with the teachers. While the drop-out children said that they hesitated in talking to the teachers, the stay-ins said that they did not feel any hesitation in communicating with the teachers.

As far as parental views on children's language difficulties in the school are concerned, although the parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins were aware of their children's language problems, the parents of the two groups differed in terms of which language should be used in the school. While the parents of the drop-outs said that Ho should be used as the sole language in school both by the teachers and children, the parents of the stay-ins said that it should be Hindi (see Figure 9.5 and Table 9.13). For example, on the one hand, the father of one drop-out said, "the children should be taught in Ho language, because they feel difficulties in speaking in Hindi language." On the other hand the father of a stay-in said,

> Our children should be taught Hindi language in the school, because Hindi is spoken at more places than Ho. It is being taught in other schools. Hindi has a national status. The Ho does not have its own script, So the children should be taught in Hindi in the school.

However there were some parents who suggested that both Ho and Hindi should be used in the school. For example, the father of a drop-out said, "the children should be taught both in Ho and in Hindi. They will understand better, if they are taught in both the languages."

Table 9.13
In what language should the PPS teach your child?(LMSQ1F)

Count / Row %	Ho	Hindi	Both	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs	8		2	10
	80.0		20.0	100.0
2 Stay-ins	1	6	3	10
	10.0	60.0	30.0	100.0
Column Total	9	6	5	20
	45.0	30.0	25.0	100.0

Thus there were both similarities and differences between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of their perceptions of language medium of communication. The similarities included the exclusive use of Ho within the family and a lack of problems in communicating in Ho. The difference, however, focused on the use of verbal and non-verbal means of communication. While the parents of the drop-out children said that they used both verbal and non-verbal means in their communication with the children, the parents of the stay-in children emphasized the use of verbal means in their communication. Furthermore in the home setting, the two groups of children differed in terms of participation in communicating with their fathers. While the drop-out children agreed that they enjoyed more freedom in talking to their mothers than to their fathers, the stay-in children, on the other hand, pointed out that they were on equal terms in day-to-day communication.

In the school setting as well, there were both similarities and differences between the drop-out and the stay-in children in terms of language medium. Both the drop-out and the stay-in children admitted that they spoke to their teachers only in Ho. They also admitted that they had difficulties in classroom communication due to a lack of previous knowledge of Hindi, although the drop-out children pointed out the language difficulties in larger numbers than the stay-in children. The two groups of children differed in terms of their awareness of the different languages. While the drop-out children were uncertain about understanding the teachers when they spoke in Hindi, the stay-in children were unanimous in pointing out their difficulties. Furthermore, although both the drop-out and the stay-in children admitted to problems of writing in Hindi, the numbers of such cases reported were higher among the drop-outs than among the stay-ins. And, although both the drop-out and the stay-in children supported the idea of teaching everything in the school only in Ho, the point was emphasized more by the stay-in children than the drop-outs. Although both the drop-out and the stay-in children admitted having problems in the pronunciation of Hindi words, the two groups of children differed in terms of taking initiative in communicating with the teachers. While the drop-outs said that they hesitated in communicating with the teachers, the stay-ins affirmed that they did not feel any hesitation. But the parents of the drop-out and the stay-in children differed in terms

Figure 9.5
Measure of Association (lambda λ) between drop-outs and stay-ins: Language Medium

	matters of association	lambda value λ	Association between Drop-outs and Stay-ins
H O M E	language medium at home	0.0	Both the drop-outs and the stay-ins pointed out that they spoke to their parents only in their mother tongue Ho.
	domestic communication	0.0	Both the drop-out and stay-in children pointed out that they did not have any problem in communicating with their parents.
	parents view on domestic communication	0.0	The parents of both drop-outs and stay-ins said that they used Ho as the only language medium in communicating with their children.
	parents' use of verbal and non-verbal means of communication	0.4	While the fathers of the drop-outs said that they used both verbal and non-verbal means in communicating with their children, the fathers of the stay-ins contended that they were more verbal with their children.
		0.5	Although the mothers of both drop-out and stay-ins said that they used both verbal and non-verbal means in communicating with their children, they differed in the extent to which they did so. But while some mothers of the drop-outs pointed out that their communication with their children was more non-verbal than verbal, some parents of the stay-ins said that their communication with their children was much more verbal than non-verbal.
	oral communication	0.0	Both the drop-out and stay-in children pointed out that their parents did not teach any written material at home.
	hesitation in communication	0.5	While the drop-out children admitted that they talked more with their mothers than with their fathers, the stay-in children said that they talked equally with both.

S C H O O L	language medium of school	0.0	Both drop-out and stay-in children said that they spoke only in Ho in school.
	difficulties in communicating to the teachers	0.2	Both the drop-out and stay-in children admitted that they had difficulties in classroom communication, although the numbers of such children were greater among the drop-outs than among the stay-ins.
	understanding teachers' Hindi language	0.5	While the drop-out children were uncertain about understanding the teachers when they spoke in Hindi language, the stay-in children were unanimous in pointing out difficulties due to the teachers speaking in Hindi.
	difficulties in writing in Hindi	0.4	Although both the drop-out and stay-in children admitted problems in writing in Hindi, the number of such cases was higher among the drop-outs, than among the stay-ins.
	the proposed case for communication in Hindi	0.2	Both the drop-outs and stay-ins supported the idea of teaching everything in Ho. However the point was emphasized more by the stay-in children than the drop-outs.
	taking interest in the case of teaching books written in Ho	0.1	Both the drop-out and stay-in children agreed that they would take more interest in school study if the books were written only in Ho.
	Complain of pronunciation of Hindi words in the classroom	0.0	Both the drop-out and stay-in children were unanimous in saying that they hesitated in talking to the teachers because they often complained about the pronunciation of Hindi words.
	Parents' view on the school language medium	0.7	While the fathers of the drop-outs said that Ho should be used as the sole language medium in the school, the fathers of the stay-ins said that Hindi should be continued as the main language. However, some fathers of both drop-outs and stay-ins pointed out that both Hindi and Ho should be continued.
		0.5	While the mothers of the drop-outs argued for the use of Ho as the sole language, the mothers of the stay-ins suggested continuing with Hindi. Although some mothers of both drop-outs and stay-ins supported giving equal priority to Hindi and Ho.

of their opinion on the language medium used in school. Although there were some parents who supported the idea of giving equal emphasis to both Ho and Hindi in school, the parents of the drop-outs suggested using Ho as the sole language, and the parents of the stay-in children suggested continuing Hindi as the main language of communication in the school.

9.4 The Relationship between Polarity and Drop-out: Learning Difficulties and Classroom Maladjustment

In the above section, we discussed the extent to which the drop-outs and the stay-ins and their parents were similar and different in terms of their perceptions of four dimensions of home and school situations. In the discussion, we noticed a marked difference between the two groups of children and their parents in their perceptions of the polarity which, to a certain extent explained their conditions of dropping out and staying in the school. That is, the drop-outs perceived the polarity to a greater extent than the stay-ins.

In this section, in order to more clearly define the relationship between the polarity and the problem of drop-out, we shall explain learning difficulties and classroom maladjustment as intervening variables which underlie polarity and drop-out. We shall show the relationship by comparing the drop-outs with the stay-ins, that is, by illustrating that the drop-out children experience a greater degree of learning difficulties than the stay-ins. But first we shall consider examples[6] of learning difficulties faced by children in the school and which the drop-out children presumably had experienced to certain extent.

[6]Here it is to be noted that the observations mentioned here are based on the children who were studying in the school at the time of the fieldwork, as it was not possible to conduct classroom observation on the children who had already left the school.

9.4.1 Learning Difficulties and Classroom Maladjustment

While carrying out classroom observation, various kinds of learning difficulties were noticed. For example, although the children were spontaneous in rehearsing numbers (such as 1 to 100 or 100 to 1), they tended to skip numbers in between (such as 46, 47, -, 49, 50). Children failed to give any explanation when asked why numbers change (increase or decrease) in counting. It seemed that the children often memorized the lessons without understanding (in counting, for example the logic of sequencing of numbers).

The problem of learning by memorizing became further evident when a boy of grade-IV could not multiply five by two (i.e 5 X 2 = ?), while he was able to multiply two by five (2 X 5 = 10). Furthermore, when the teacher asked a child of grade-III to add forty seven (47) and fifteen (15), he could not do it.

47
15

?? (addition)

It seems that while adding 5 and 7, the child faced problems in counting residuary numbers. Later at home we asked the child to do the same addition and encouraged him to follow his own method of calculation; he did the addition in the following manner.

~~1111111111~~ ~~1111111111~~ ~~1111111111~~ ~~1111111111~~ ~~1111111111~~
10 10 (20) 10 (30) 10 (40) 10 (50)

~~1111111~~ ~~11111~~
7 (57) 5 (62) Thus 47 +15 = 62

Children face learning problems in school, when they are not able to use their experiences from domestic learning in school. In reading essays and stories from the textbooks, the children faced similar problems in school. They concentrated on a

paragraph taking it word by word, but had a problem in comprehending the meaning of text. For example, in the case of a lesson from a Hindi textbook titled *Sahasi Balak* (the brave boy), the child was unable to summarize the texts in his own words. He recalled only a few disjointed words from the lesson. When the teacher asked him to locate the answer of a particular incident in the text, the child was unable to do so. It seems that the children read lessons without giving much attention to the meaning of words or sentences. They simply repeat the words the way the teachers have taught them. The teachers concentrate on the pronunciation of the words more than the meaning of texts. For example, one boy read a lesson on 'human body', and afterwards was asked to give the meaning of a Hindi word *nak* (nose). The child was not able to say anything. Later, the teacher caught his nose and said 'this is *nak* (nose)'.

By highlighting the learning difficulties children experience in the school, we find a high correlation between the maladjusted and incompetent behaviour in the classroom. The following observational accounts illustrate examples of maladjusted and incompetent behaviour resulting from learning difficulties in the classroom.

The excuse of lunch-break

According to the teachers, some children make excuses to go out of the classroom or sometimes even off the school premises.

Child: *Matasor* (the school teacher), shall I go on lunch break? [Though it's not lunch time. The child (boy) is bored with writing same words. So he asks the teacher to allow him to go to lunch.]

Teacher: [in a disciplinary manner.] No! First you will complete your lesson. Only then you can go lunch break. [The teacher is aware of the child's usual requests of lunch-breaks.]

Non-response

During observations of classroom activities, it became evident that some children intentionally ignore the teachers' calls for attention.

Teacher: [The teacher asks a girl who has not brought her slate.] Where is your slate?

Child: [She does not respond and does not look towards him either. She remains sitting on her seat head down. Although as reported by the teacher said she does have slate, she does not bother to bring it.]

Teacher: She is always like that. She did not bring her slate yesterday also. If you do not bring your slate tomorrow, I 'll not allow you to enter the classroom. [The teacher cautions her not to repeat the excuse.]

Teacher: Mukta (a girl), what are you writing? [The teacher asks another girl about the lesson in which she is currently involved.]

Child: [She shows her copybook, but does not say anything.]

Teacher: Bring your copy! [The teacher after seeing her copy, says] Look here, so many mistakes! I cannot even read your hand writing. It's not legible. You must improve your writing.

Child: [She does not say anything and goes back to her seat. Later she also stops writing.]

Disruptive and unruly behaviour

Despite the teachers' use of sticks in enforcing discipline, we noticed several cases of children's disruptive and unruly behaviour in the classroom. Several times children were seen spitting and the classroom was often the scene of quarrels and shouting. The teachers stated that the children who are not interested in school studies make unruly scenes in classroom, and indicated particular children who were often involved in such activities. During classroom observation, those children did show some maladjusted behaviour however, not only did the children neglect their studies, but the teachers also neglected them.

Non-attendance

Some children are not regular in attending school. According to the teachers, the children who are weak in their studies do not attend school regularly. They often make a number of excuses to cover their habit of being absent.

Teacher: [to a girl] Why didn't you come yesterday?

Child: I had some work at home. [The child points out the reason.]

Teacher: Don't make an excuse of work at home. [But the teacher considers it an excuse.] Why don't you say simply that you did not want to come and were playing. [The teacher does not believe in the girl's reply, as she often makes such excuses.]

Fraudulent behaviour

According to the teachers, children who are weak in their studies, show fraudulent behaviour in the classroom to escape the burden of classroom tasks. It is usually found among the children in early grades who find it difficult to learn writing.

Child: *Matasor* [A grade-I child (boy) showing some written words to the teacher.]

Teacher: [knowing that the boy does not know writing, questions him] Did you write this?

Child: [First he keeps quiet but later accepts the fraud.] No?

Teacher: Then, who wrote this?

Child: My friend wrote for me [pointing towards his friend.]

Teacher: [expressing ridicule to his fraudulent behaviour] Then, from today will he eat your food? Will you give him your food?

Child: [The child does not respond to the teacher's ridicule, goes back to his seat. Later he leaves the classroom without getting permission from the teacher.]

Children develop such behaviour out of their frustration at not being able make progress in their learning in the classroom. The child in this example had been stuck with the same writing lesson for several weeks and was often being rebuked by the teachers for not being able to complete the lessons.

Children's protest and the teachers' apathy

Along with the children's protest arises the issue of teachers apathy. The teachers are not committed to the children's needs and ignore children's queries. During classroom observation many examples of this were noted (for example, when teachers were talking to their colleagues or watching events outside). Sometimes, the teachers showed an acute indifference, such as taking a nap in the classroom, gossiping about local politics or matters relating to personal affairs.

Teacher: Copy these words! [The teacher writes a few words on the child's (girl) slate and asks her to copy them. But the teacher himself engages in a discussion with his fellow colleagues.]

The child: [The girl takes her slate and the chalk pencils, and starts copying the words. She copies then shows them to the teacher.]

The child: *Matasor* (school teacher or master), I have written the two words. Please check them.

Teacher: Go back to your seat and write the same, five times! [The teacher is not interested as he is still engaged in the discussion with his colleagues. He gives a glance over the written words on the slate and asks her to copy the words again and again.]

The girl writes the word five times and shows them to the teacher. The teacher is still not satisfied with her writing and asks her to write them ten more times. This done, the teacher asks her to read the words ten times. The girl feels bored with the words and stops reading after five times and plays with her friends. Later she makes the excuse of going to the toilet and does not return to the classroom that day.

The teachers and parents say that the children who will not study and will eventually drop out show telling signs from the beginning. They exhibit various kinds of behaviour incompatible with the classroom norms. According to the teachers, these children do not take an interest in the teaching, make a number of excuses to leave

the classroom, do not bring along their school textbooks, slates, and copy books, and very often play or quarrel with their friends. Furthermore, they do not respond to any calls to attention and leave the classroom without seeking permission. The teachers claim that they do not know how to deal with such children. The parents often agree with such predictions. One boy narrated the story of his dropping out from the school as follows,

> When I did not go to school for some weeks, the school teachers reported my father about my absence from the school. My parents asked me about the teachers' complaint. I remained quiet, because those days I was playing with friends in the forest during the school hours. One day my father came to me and said 'If you do not feel like studying in the school, stop your school study for good and concentrate on cattle herding.'... I left the school.

These observational descriptions highlight various types of learning difficulties children experience in the school and the way in which learning difficulties lead to their maladjustment and incompetence in the classroom. Both parents and teachers argue that Ho children follow a route to drop-out through learning difficulties and behavioural maladjustment. We can establish links between polarity and learning difficulties by comparing the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of their experiences of learning difficulties.

9.4.2 Learning Difficulties: the Drop-outs and the Stay-ins

As discussed above, learning difficulties in school are to a certain degree common to all children. But the interview data showed that not all children found school subjects difficult to understand. When asked, 'Did or do you find school subjects difficult to understand?', the drop-out children said 'yes', while the stay-ins were confident that the school subjects were not difficult for them (Figure 9.6 and Table 9.14).

Table 9.14
Did or do you find school subjects difficult to understand?

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs	9 90.0		1 10.0	10 100.0
2 Stay-ins	3 30.0	7 70.0		10 100.0
Column Total	12 60.0	7 35.0	1 5.0	20 100.0

In pointing towards the difficulties of school subjects, the drop-out children were unable to isolate any particular subject. As one drop-out child said, "I cannot say which subject was difficult for me. But I was not understanding the things being taught in the school properly." However some drop-out children were specific about certain subjects. As another drop-out child said,

> I found Hindi, Social Studies and Mathematic very difficult to understand. In Hindi, I always had to memorize poems. I found it very difficult to memorize poems. Mathematics is difficult as well. I had to do various types of addition, subtraction and multiplication. I could not understand the additional numbers in these processes. For example, I did not understand the process of taking one (1) out of ten (10) in mathematical calculation.

The children who said that the school subjects were difficult to understand admitted that some subjects were more difficult than others, social studies being one. The subject Social Studies generally comprises the teaching of geography, history, political systems and cultures and customs (see Chapter 7). It is more difficult than other subjects because the subject not only contains non-Ho teaching materials but the textbooks are written in Hindi. When asked about Social Studies, the drop-out children in general pointed out that they did not feel like reading the social studies books, such as *Bal Bharati*, *Hamara Desha Bharat* and *Hamara Sansar* (see Chapter 7). The

books were difficult on two counts, a) they were written in Hindi language and b) they did not contain lessons on the Ho *adivasi* people. According to the drop-outs, the social studies books are boring because they are full of essays on the *Diku* people.

Unlike the drop-outs, on the whole, the stay-in children did not find school subjects difficult to understand. To some stay-in children, some school subjects were interesting. As one stay-in said, "I like the Hindi subject especially the poems. I memorize them like songs." Another stay-in child commented,

> I like mathematics more than any other subject. To me mathematics is simple. It is easy for me to solve sums, because I can count numbers quickly. That's why I like mathematics.

Although some stay-in children found social studies difficult too, unlike the drop-out children they did not question reading about the *Diku* people. To them, they go to the school to study about the *Diku* people. Here it is interesting to point out that the children's perception of school subjects as difficult to understand is related with the children's retention of school knowledge and their interest in school studies.

The difference between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of subject difficulty is further explained by difference in their claims for the retention of domestic and school knowledge. In terms of household chores, such as tusar rearing and paddy farming, the drop-out children admitted they had some knowledge of these occupations but were largely uncertain about the extent of it. However the stay-in children denied having any knowledge of either tusar rearing or paddy farming. Furthermore, although both the drop-out and the stay-in children were largely uncertain about acquiring the full knowledge of school tasks, the two groups of children differed in terms of relative claims. While the drop-out children said that they did not retain properly what was taught in the school, the stay-in children claimed that they retained most of the things taught in the school.

Table 9.15 shows that, of the sample drop-out children, only 20 per cent said that they did not acquire the knowledge of tusar rearing at home, the rest either said 'yes' or were uncertain about it. The drop-out children who were 'uncertain' did not deny having some knowledge of tusar rearing, although such children were mainly uncertain about the complete knowledge of rearing. One drop-out said,

> I know a little bit of tusar rearing. For example, the butterflies come of the cocoons; they lay eggs, the eggs grow into worms, and the worms are reared on the *asan* trees. The worms make cocoons and the cocoons are sold in the market.

Most of the drop-out children admitted that they did not have a complete knowledge (especially the girls who did not have working experience), but, except for two, they did not deny having some knowledge of tusar rearing. The stay-in children, unlike the drop-outs, denied having any knowledge of tusar rearing. Table 9.15 shows that of the sample children, 90 per cent stay-ins admitted that they admitted being almost ignorant about tusar rearing.

Table 9.15
Retention of domestic knowledge
Do you know tusar rearing?

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs	2	2	6	10
	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0
2 Stay-ins		9	1	10
		90.0	10.0	100.0
Column Total	2	11	7	20
	10.0	55.0	35.0	100.0

Table 9.16 shows the difference between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of the retention of school knowledge. The drop-out children either denied retaining school knowledge or were uncertain about it. None of the drop-out children were confident enough to say that they remembered properly whatever was taught in the class. As one drop-out said, "I had problems in recalling lessons taught in the classroom. The teachers used to beat me for that."

Unlike the drop-out children, half of the stay-in children said that they retained most of the things taught in school (see Table 9.16). The remaining half were uncertain, although unlike the drop-outs they did not admit that they did not retain anything taught in the school. One stay-in child mentioned his/her retention of school knowledge in the following words,

> I remember most of things taught in the school. Whenever the teachers ask me about the last taught lesson, I tell them what I know. I do not have much problem in understanding the school subjects.

Table 9.16
Retention of school knowledge

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs		4 40.0	6 60.0	10 100.0
2 Stay-ins	5 50.0		5 50.0	10 100.0
Column Total	5 25.0	4 20.0	11 55.0	20 100.0

Tables 9.15 and 9.16 show that there is a marked difference between the drop-out and the stay-in children in terms of their retention of both home and school knowledge.

The children who show a tendency to retain domestic knowledge, do not show the same for school knowledge. The drop-out children belong to the first group, while the stay-ins belong to the second. That is, the children who dropped out of the school showed a tendency to retain more domestic knowledge than school knowledge. And the children those who stayed in school showed a tendency to retain more school knowledge than domestic knowledge.

The drop-outs and the stay-ins differed to a great extent in terms of their claims for the retention of school knowledge. While the drop-out children admitted that they did not retain the school lessons, the stay-ins affirmed that they retained most of the things taught in school (See Figure 9.6), although there was a certain level of uncertainty about the retention among both the groups. Furthermore when asked 'Did or do you like studying in school?', while the drop-out children either said 'no' or were 'uncertain', the stay-in children, on the other hand, were unanimous in affirming their keen interest (Figure 9.6). The difference between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in their claims of acquiring domestic and school knowledge shows a relationship with the difference between the drop-outs and the stay-ins in their interest in school studies.

Table 9.17
Did or do you like studying in the PPS?

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	
	1	2	3	Total
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs		5 50.0	5 50.0	10 100.0
2 Stay-ins	10 100.0			10 100.0
Column Total	10 50.0	5 25.0	5 25.0	20 100.0

Concerning the role of language in learning difficulties, although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins admitted problems in communicating with the teachers, the number of such cases reported were higher among the drop-out than the stay-ins (see Figure 9.6 and Table 9.18).

Table 9.18

Did or do you face learning difficulties in speaking in Ho in the school?

Count / Row %	Yes	No	Uncertain	Total
Schooling Profile	1	2	3	
1 Drop-outs	8 80.0		2 20.0	10 100.0
2 Stay-ins	6 60.0	4 40.0		10 100.0
Column Total	14 70.0	4 20.0	2 10.0	20 100.0

To relate children's difficulties with the parents' awareness of the school learning and teaching, we asked the parents of both the drop-out and the stay-in children, 'Is the school teaching children properly?' In their replies, there was a marked difference between the parents of the two groups of children. While the parents of the drop-out children were largely uncertain about the quality of the school teaching, the parents of the stay-ins were appreciative of the teaching quality (see Figure 9.6). Here it is interesting to note that some of the parents of the stay-ins criticized the school for a lack of commitment on the part of the teachers and a lack of adequate resources, such as furniture, for the children. As discussed earlier, although parents considered primary schooling essential for their children, not all parents found a school education beneficial for them. We noticed a marked difference between the parents of the drop-outs and the parents of the stay-ins in their opinions on the impact of school study on their children. While the parents of the drop-outs pointed out both good and bad impacts, the parents of the stay-ins stated that the schooling had been largely

beneficial to their children (Figure 9.6). Moreover, unlike the parents of the stay-ins, some parents of the drop-outs criticized the school having a bad influence on their children.

Table 9.19
The impact of the PPS teaching on your child (Parents)

Count / Row %	Good	Bad	Both	Total
	1	2	3	
Schooling Profile				
1 Drop-outs	2 / 10.0	8 / 40.0	10 / 50.0	20 / 100.0
2 Stay-ins	16 / 80.0		4 / 20.0	20 / 100.0
Column Total	18 / 45.0	8 / 20.0	14 / 35.0	40 / 100.0

Thus the drop-outs and the stay-ins not only differed in terms of their perceptions of the polarity but also in their experience of learning difficulties (see Figure 9.6). In terms of learning difficulties, while the drop-outs found school subjects difficult to understand and consequently did not retain most of what was taught in school, the stay-ins stated that the school subjects were not difficult and they retained most things taught in the school. It is interesting to note that, while the drop-outs admitted poor retention in school learning, they said that they retained the domestic knowledge taught at home. Conversely the stay-ins affirmed a high level of retention of school knowledge, but admitted a very low level of retention of domestic knowledge (see Figure 9.6). One may say that the drop-out children's learning difficulties and poor retention of school knowledge are related to their lack of interest in school activities and, unlike the stay-ins and their parents, the drop-out outs and their parents were less concerned about taking school studies seriously. And for them, school work remained confined to the school. The stay-in children and their parents on the other hand, showed an awareness and concern about school tasks both in and out of the school.

Figure 9.6
Measures of Association (lambda λ) between Drop-outs and Stay-ins: Learning Difficulties and other matters

matters of association	lambda value λ	Association between Drop-outs and Stay-ins
learning difficulty of school subjects	0.7	While the drop-out children said that school subjects were difficult to understand, the stay-ins said that school subjects were not difficult to understand.
retention of domestic knowledge	0.7	While the drop-out children said that they acquired some knowledge of the household tasks, such as paddy farming and tusar rearing but were largely uncertain about acquiring full knowledge of them, the stay-in children admitted that they did not acquire knowledge of household tasks, such as paddy farming and tusar rearing.
retention of school knowledge	0.5	Although there was a certain level of uncertainty about the retention of school knowledge taught both among the drop-outs and the stay-ins, the two groups of children differed in terms of their affirmation and negation. While some drop-outs affirmed that they did not retain the lessons taught in school, some stay-ins affirmed that they retained most of the things taught in school.
parental verification of their children's progress in school study	0.9	While the fathers of the drop-outs confirmed that they did not ask their children anything about their school study, the fathers of the stay-ins contended that they often asked their children about their school activities.
	0.5	While mothers of the drop-outs said that they did not enquire from their children about their progress in school studies, mothers of the stay-ins pointed out that they often enquired from their children about their school activities.
studying after school hours	0.5	While the drop-out children said unanimously that they did not study school textbooks at all after coming home from the school, the stay-in children said that they studied school textbooks at home after coming from school.
impact of school teaching	0.7	While the parents of the drop-outs were divided in their opinion of the impact schooling teaching (that is, some parents saw negative and some both positive and negative impacts), the parents of the stay-ins said that the school teaching did not have any negative impact on their children and instead pointed out various positive impacts of schooling on their children.

9.5 Conclusion

The Ho children drop-out from the primary school for various reason which can be divided into two categories, immediate or superficial and enduring or underlying reasons. In their initial remarks, the drop-out children often mention only the immediate reasons such as lack of bicycles, lack of shoes, boredom in the classroom (see Figure 9.1). The parents too relate their children's drop-out from the school to the superficial reasons, such as their laziness and carelessness in terms of school study (see Figure 9.1). The underlying or enduring reasons for the problem of drop-out are found in the drop-out children's perceptions of a high degree of polarity between the home and the school. We explored this by comparing the drop-outs with the stay-ins in their perception of the polarity in terms of four dimensions, that is, content, motivation, method and language medium and their associated learning difficulties in the classroom.

In the case of content polarity, the data on domestic knowledge suggest that the children who stayed in school very often abstained from domestic activities, such as tusar rearing, paddy farming, fishing and hunting (see Figure 9.2). The children who dropped out of schools participated actively in those domestic activities. Although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins participated in household tasks to some degree, but while the drop-out children participated actively in outdoor household activities without worrying too much about their performance in the school, the stay-in children participated in the indoor household tasks only to the extent to which they did not disturb their school studies. Like the children, there were differences between the parents of the drop-outs and the stay-ins in terms of involving them in household activities such as paddy farming and tusar rearing. While the parents of the drop-outs encouraged their children to participate actively in outdoor household tasks such as tusar rearing, the parents of the stay-ins said they did not. Although the parents of the drop-outs and the stay-ins were different in terms of involving their children actively in household activities, they both supported the teaching of household activities in general terms and the promotion of Ho life and culture in the school.

Parents of both drop-outs and the stay-ins said that both domestic knowledge and school knowledge were important to learn, but they differed in terms of their emphasis on cultural and economic aspects of the learning and teaching goals (see Figure 9.3). While the parents of the drop-outs emphasized both the cultural and economic significance of learning particular household tasks, such as tusar rearing and keeping their future occupational goals open to jobs based on both domestic education and school education, the parents of the stay-ins emphasized mainly the cultural significance of learning household chores (or Ho life and culture). Consequently they did not want their children to follow a household occupation, but only to do jobs based on their school education. The comparison between parents' expectation of their children's future occupation and their expectations of a desirable level of school education for them to reach gives further insights into the differences between the drop-outs and the stay-ins. The parents of the drop-outs who kept their options for their children's future occupation open ended were uncertain about their plans for their children's further education. The parents of the stay-ins who affirmed their future expectations were of their children being employed in a government office, pointed out their plans for their further education (such as secondary schooling, college and university education). This shows a relationship between parents' expectations of their children's future occupation and their interest in their children's school education. Like their parents, the drop-out and the stay-in children differed in terms of their goals and expectations. For example, the drop-out children stated that their future lay within the village, that is they accepted their future roles as paddy farmers and tusar rearers and they associated their active participation in household tasks with their future occupational roles. The stay-in children, on the other hand, following their parents' expectations pointed out their future occupational goals purely on the basis of their school education.

In terms of methods of learning and teaching, the similarities and differences between the drop-outs and the stay-ins indicate a pattern of conformity by the former more to household and community norms, the latter more to school norms (see Figure 9.4). Unlike the drop-outs, the stay-ins relied on mainly learning by listening in both home and school settings. The drop-outs, however, learned by actively participating at

home, but depended upon learning by memorizing in school. Therefore unlike the stay-ins, they perceived the disjunctions in terms of the use of learning methods. In terms of learning in an affective or non-affective environment, the two groups of children experience certain similar treatment from their parents and the teachers, however, although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins were subject to beatings both at home and in school, a marked difference was noticed in terms of the frequency of beatings as negative reinforcement. While the drop-outs were subject to frequent beating both at home and in the school, the stay-ins, on the other hand, were subject to occasional beating. Consequently while the drop-out children were not afraid of their parents but were afraid of the school teachers and occasionally were absent from the school, the stay-ins, on the other hand, were afraid of their parents but not of their teachers and showed more interest in the classroom activities. In terms of learning according to cultural traditions, the drop-out children said they were interested in drinking *handia* (rice beer) and dancing during festivals, but the stay-in children did not indulge in such community activities. So one may say that while the drop-outs showed interest in community manners, the stay-ins did not.

In the field of language, the similarities and differences between the drop-outs and the stay-ins confirmed the patterns which have been emerging from the discussions on the other three dimensions of the polarity (see Figure 9.5). Although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins were similar in their use of Ho as their sole language of communication both at home and in the school, we noted a difference in terms of their exposure to Hindi. Unlike the drop-outs, some stay-ins pointed out that they had opportunities of hearing Hindi when they visited Chaibasa. With regard to the use of verbal and non-verbal means, the parents of the stay-ins stated that they were mainly verbal with their children. Notably, the parents of the stay-ins, unlike the parents of the drop-outs, were more in line with the teachers who also used mainly verbal means of communication with children in the classroom. With regard to writing, both the drop-outs and the stay-ins had limited experience, as their parents did not use any written materials. Although the parents (especially the fathers) of the stay-ins helped their children in completing school tasks and helped them to improve their writing as well. In terms of participation in communication, while drop-out

children were hesitant in communicating with both their fathers and the school teachers, stay-ins admitted being hesitant with the teachers, but not with their parents. Moreover, even with the teachers, the level of hesitation was higher among the drop-outs than among the stay-ins. Furthermore, although the parents of both groups of children were aware of their children's difficulties with school language, the parents of the two groups of children differed in terms of their opinions on which language should be the medium of communication in the school. While the parents of the drop-outs supported the idea of using only Ho, the parents of the stay-ins suggested that Hindi should be continued as the main language in the school.

We can see that two groups of children differ not only in terms of their perceptions of the polarity but also in terms of their associated learning difficulties in the school (see Figure 9.6). In the case of learning difficulties, unlike the stay-ins, the drop-outs found school subjects more difficult to understand. Among the school subjects, they found Social Studies particularly difficult because it dealt mainly with the outside *Diku* world and was taught mainly in the *Diku* (Hindi) language. The difference in subject difficulty explains, to a certain extent, the difference in terms of claims of acquiring school knowledge. While the drop-outs were either 'uncertain' or said they had acquired no knowledge in the social studies lessons, the stay-ins said that they retained most of the topics taught in the subject. The drop-out children's learning difficulties and their uncertainty in their claim of retaining school knowledge taught in the school also had an impact on their interest in school studies. For example, while the drop-outs said they either had 'no' interest or were 'uncertain' about it, all the stay-ins were unanimous in their keen interest in school studies. Furthermore, although both the drop-outs and the stay-ins experienced language problems, the drop-outs reported such problems in greater number than the stay-ins. Although the parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins in general considered primary schooling essential for their children, the parents of the two groups of children differed in terms of their opinion on the impact of schooling on the children. The parents of the drop-outs were largely 'uncertain' about its impact. The parents of the stay-ins, on the other hand, said that the school teaching did not have a negative impact on their children, and instead pointed to its positive aspects. The children's learning difficulties

appear to be related to children's and parents' concern about school activities. While, on the one hand, neither drop-out children nor their parents were concerned about continuing school activities at home, both the stay-ins and their parents were concerned with school activities and both worked to continue the school activities in the home setting as well. Thus from the above discussion it is obvious that drop-outs not only perceived the polarity between the home and the school to a greater extent than stay-ins, but also experienced more learning difficulties.

Chapter 10
Summary and Conclusions

10.1 The Problem

Drop-out from educational institutions is a global problem. Both developed and developing countries suffer from the problem. While developed countries such as the U.S.A. face the problem mainly at the level of secondary schooling, developing countries such as India face this problem at almost every level of modern formal education. In developing countries, the rate of drop-out from primary schools is high (see Chapter 1). The primary school drop-out rate is also higher in rural areas in comparison with urban areas, and within the rural areas, higher among socially and culturally disadvantaged groups.

As a developing country and the second most populous country in the world, India contributes a large proportion to the total number of primary school drop-outs in developing countries. In India the drop-outs are located mainly in rural areas and the problem is acute, given that today over 70 per cent of the Indian population lives in rural areas (GOI Census, 1991). However, within the rural areas, drop out from primary schools is highest among the socially and culturally disadvantaged groups such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. We have selected a tribal group, because the drop-out from primary schools is higher among tribal children than any other social groups (DOE, 1993).

By highlighting the case of primary school drop-outs among tribal children, we do not imply that modern formal education or primary school is a failure in India or among tribal communities. According to an educational survey report (DOE, 1993), the literacy rate among tribal people has increased from 8.54 per cent in 1961 to 16.35 per cent in 1981 and the primary school enrolment increased to 8.3 million in 1991. But the 64 per cent drop-out rate among tribals at the level of primary schooling

cannot be ignored (DOE, 1993), as a major obstacle in the path of progress in primary schooling among these groups and the achievement of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in general. The problem is alarming in the light of the fact that tribal people constitute over 8 per cent of the total population, numbering over 67 million (GOI Census, 1991). Clearly some tribal children drop-out, while others stay-in. This research is based on the key empirical question, "Why do some tribal children drop-out of primary school, while others stay on to complete the course?"

10.2 The Conceptual Framework Used

It has been argued that the problem of drop-out from primary schools in tribal India may be examined through the concept of polarity between the home and the school. Here we have taken note of the historical roots of the concept of polarity in Greek philosophy, and its predicament that even a complex natural or social phenomenon can be studied properly within the framework of polarity (Lloyd, 1966; Needham, 1987). Several researchers have used the concept in various disciplines (see Chapter 2). In the field of education, there is growing interest in the duality or polarity between the home and the school (Bernstein, 1971, Harris, 1984; Bude, 1985; Christie, 1985; Tizard and Hughes, 1986; Laserna, 1988; Little, 1990). But the question arises, "Is the concept of the home and school polarity applicable to tribal India?" In Chapter 2, we have pointed out that there is polarity between learning in the home and the school and that this exists due to two main factors a) colonial legacy and b) cultural diversity. Although the colonial legacy has disadvantaged most Indians in contemporary education, the tribal people suffer from a 'double disadvantage' due to their status as a cultural minority. The protest against the imposition of cultural minority status on tribal people is visible in various parts of India in the form of the Jharkhand Movement. Several studies have been conducted to investigate the causes and consequences of the Movement (Singh, 1972; Sharma, 1972). Even since Independence in 1947, the national education system has not been adapted adequately to suit the tribal communities in India, the contemporary education system suits mainly to the upper caste Hindus (Naik, 1966).

Four dimensions of the home and the school polarity are examined, that is, content, motivation, method and language medium. In other words, tribal homes and primary schools in tribal areas, although both important centres of learning and teaching, differ greatly in terms of the knowledge content, goals and expectation, methods of learning and teaching and language medium of communication.

10.3 The Research Area: Tribal India

As mentioned above, the broad empirical framework of this research has been tribal India by referring to tribal people living in different parts of the country. By 'tribal people' we mean those groups of people who have been declared Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution of India. But although the Scheduled Tribes in India are legally recognized culturally distinct groups, the element of 'tribalness' or tribal culture among them is a matter of degree rather than an exclusive all-India tribal identity. That is, the tribal communities have undergone change and transformation due to several factors such as, culture contact with non-tribal groups, industrialization, urbanization and modern formal education. Several tribal groups show the impact of non-tribal cultures on their lives and culture, a situation which reflects what Singh (1967: 64) points out in his remark, "a number of opposite standard of values of morality and styles of life prevail in the same community." The tribal people in India consider any outside influence as non-tribal in nature, for the ideas, institutions and persons involved in such influence do not come from the tribal communities (Singh, 1972; Sharma 1972).

Modern formal education represents an outside or non-tribal influence/interference in the tribal communities. Several authors have indicated that the tribal people who have adopted non-tribal lifestyles have responded to modern education more favourably than those who have not. So it is important to keep in mind the distinction between tribal and non-tribal influences within a tribal community to examine the difference between the responses of the drop-outs and the stay-ins to modern school education.

This research focuses on the Ho, a tribal group located mainly in the Kolhan region of the Chotanagpur plateau of India. Drawing from his study of the whole region, Majumdar (1937) says that the Ho in general are 'a tribe in transition'. Over the centuries, the Ho have changed from being hunters and gatherers in the hills to settled farmers in the plains. In cultural terms, they have been influenced by contacts with Hindus and Christians. However some of the recent transformations are due to industrialization and urbanization in the region. Although the Ho as a whole suffer from impact of outside non-tribal cultures, the nature and extent of the impact of the non-tribal cultures on them varies from village to village. Sachchidanand (1966) suggests that the tribal situation should be studied in terms of village rather than at the broader regional level. Yorke (1976) points out further that the Ho villages which are still in the forest have experienced less change than those who are on the fringes of the forest. This research was a study of a Ho tribal village called Parampancho which is situated on the border of the main Kolhan forest belt.

10.4 The Main Research Findings

In this section, we assess the extent to which the three main objectives of this research have been fulfilled. These were, a) to present an ethnography of a Ho tribal village, b) to investigate the problem of drop-out from the primary school situated in the village and c) to apply the concept of polarity in analysing the problem of drop-out.

10.4.1 Ethnography of the Village: Parampancho

Parampancho village is part of the Kolhan because it falls under the *Gumra Pir* of the Kolhan Tribal Estate established by the British Colonial Rule and preserved by the national government. The village also constitutes part of West Singhbhum district because it comes under the direct administration of the state or national government. In terms of physical setting, the village lies on the junction between the hills and the plains. Although Parampancho has a legal boundary marked by the government of

Bihar, in terms of land revenue records, the villagers consider the boundary well beyond the legal limit into the forested hills.

Parampancho is predominantly a Ho village, only a small (15 per cent) section of the village population are non-Ho. The non-Ho are non-tribal people, mainly Hindus (such as Lohar, Gop and Tanti). The Ho in the village share their history of the Kolhan region in the form of continuation of their traditional Munda-Manki system in the village. In terms of economy, the Ho of Parampancho are mainly settled paddy farmers. However, old Ho pursuits such as hunting, fruit gathering and tusar rearing continue to be practised on a smaller scale. The knowledge and skills of tusar rearing have persisted although the rearing activities have declined over recent years due to deforestation. In terms of social structure, the Parampancho Ho emphasize the significance of their *killi* system in birth, marriage and death. However, they have adopted some non-Ho features, such as the *Diku andi* marriage system. In terms of politics and administration, the village follows both the tribal Munda-Manki system and the national Panchayat Raj system. In religious matters, Parampancho Ho religious activity concerns the worship of *Singbonga* their supreme God and *Desauli* (village God), in the form of festivals such as *Maghe, Bā* and *Jomnama.* However, they show a very tolerant attitude towards other religious groups such as the lower caste Hindus (i.e. Lohars, Gops and Tantis). The village also shows the impact of modernization, in the form of a tarred road passing through the village, public telephones, motorbikes and tube-wells.

One may say that Parampancho is a 'tribal village in transition'. It lies at a junction of both tribal and non-tribal features. Nevertheless the scale of modernization is limited in comparison to non-tribal groups in the region and the Ho have only adopted non-tribal features which fit into a Ho cultural framework such as *Diku-andi* in the framework of the *Andi* marriage system; the *Mangala Hat* (the Tuesday village market) is fitted onto the pattern of barter exchange and the *bagan (*vegetable gardening) onto the Ho mode of forest preservation. This dualistic pattern of village life helps in understanding the Ho's half-hearted acceptance of modern formal education found in Parampancho in the shape of the primary school.

10.4.2 The Drop-out from the Parampancho Primary School (PPS)

The main reason for selecting the Parampancho Primary School was to highlight polarity between the home and the school within the same geographical setting (see Chapter 4; Plate 4.1) and consider whether there was any relationship between the polarity and high drop-out. The school provides a good case for investigation because the transfer of its site from the outskirts to the middle of the village has magnified the polarity at the village level.

The school is a government primary school, for the management and control of the school is under the Government of Bihar. Like several village primary schools in the region, it teaches up to grade-V only. Following the 1986 New Education Policy, the school has three teachers, one is Ho, the other two are non-Ho. Of the non-Hos, one belongs to a tribe (Munda) and the other is non-tribal (Hindu lower caste). All three teachers are male. Of the three teachers while two (both tribal) are trained, one (non-tribal) is not trained.

The school suffers from a lack of adequate resources such as furniture and teaching materials. The financial crisis has afflicted the school to such an extent that it does not have its own building and the completion of a new building for the school lies in the distant future because of a lack of adequate funds as pointed out both by the teachers and school administration authorities. According to them, this financial crisis affects most of the primary schools in the tribal region.

The school has been the site of transition since its inception in 1940 as the functioning of the school changed according to changes in management and control of the school. The school owes its current staffing levels (that is being situated within the village and manned by three teachers) mainly to the New Education Policy. The school has assumed a special significance in this research, as the transfer of its site from outskirts to the middle of the village has magnified the problem of polarity at the village level.

The Children Census shows that non-enrolment is one of the major problems. Like several government primary schools in the region, it suffers from a high incidence of Ho drop-out. The drop-out is higher at the level of grade-I than other primary school grades. The school records further indicate that drop-out is higher among boys than among girls but enrolment is also higher among boys than among girls. In terms of age, children from the age of 6 to 8 years were found to be more vulnerable to drop-out than children of other age groups. It is important to note the PPS teachers' denial of repetition on the grounds of the Automatic Promotion Policy and the Minimum Level of Learning which made the task of detecting any repetition in the school difficult.

10.4.3 Two Poles: the Parampancho Ho Home and the Parampancho Primary School

As a 'tribal village in transition' Parampancho has maintained to a certain extent its tribal (Ho) features while accommodating certain non-tribal (non-Ho) features (see section 10.4.2). In terms of economy, the Parampancho Ho have continued their Ho *adivasi* occupations such as tusar rearing and lac raising yet they have also adopted occupations which are not traditionally Ho, such as working in government offices and private factories. In terms of education, parents teach their children about their Ho culture and economy at home, but they send them to school for a modern formal education. The response of the Ho to the Parampancho Primary School is an indication of the extent to which they have accepted modern formal education. Therefore, in Parampancho, both the home and the school are sites of learning and teaching. A Ho child who studies in school also learns at home. But the question arises 'To what extent are the home and the school similar and different in their educational contexts?' We explored the similarities and differences between the two educational sites in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium.

In terms of content, we found that although both the home and the school offered children a certain amount of knowledge and skills, the two educational sites differed

in terms of the nature and extent of the knowledge they provided and the children's learning of such knowledge and skills. For example, while domestic knowledge and skills were based mainly on the household chores, of local relevance, based on the sexual division of labour, had in oral form and were holistic; school knowledge was mainly based on school tasks of national and international relevance, prescribed in the school syllabus in terms of grades, written in the form of school textbooks and organised in terms of disciplines and lessons. The examples studied in this research are the domestic knowledge of 'tusar rearing' and school knowledge of 'Social Studies'. This example elucidated the fact that at home parents did not teach children topics of national and international relevance and in school teachers did not teach tusar rearing, a very significant Ho task. So there existed a polarity between the home and the school in terms of knowledge content. The research proceeded to elucidate the extent to which the children who studied in both the school and home perceived the polarity. Importantly, the perception of polarity in content varied from child to child and from parent to parent, because the children and their parents were differentially involved and concerned in both the home and the school settings. For example, in the case of tusar rearing, male and female children were differentially involved according to the Ho customary sexual division of labour. Furthermore, the parents were divided in terms of their opinion about the importance of teaching tusar rearing and Ho life and culture in the school.

In terms of motivation, although both the parents and children pointed out that they had certain goals and expectations for domestic and school learning and teaching, the nature and extent of the goals and expectations associated with each educational setting differed. For example, in the domestic setting, the goals and expectations were mainly to supplement the household labour force, to assume adult roles, to learn the skills which will earn money, to work within the village and to learn about Ho culture. In the school setting the expectations were to concentrate on academic tasks, to get jobs based on a school education, to gain access to secondary school education, to work outside the village and to learn about other cultures. Thus a condition of polarity existed between the home and the school in terms of goals and expectations. However the perception of the motivational polarity varied from child to child and

from parent to parent. Parents were differentiated between the cultural and economic goals of learning and teaching in the two educational settings. That is, some parents emphasized the learning of domestic tasks for the fulfilment of both cultural and economic goals, while in school context parents were more concerned with their children fulfilling economic goals. But the children and their parents differed in terms of their goals and expectations of both domestic and school learning and teaching. For example, in terms of the expectation of continuing household tasks such as paddy farming and tusar rearing or working within the village in the future, only a few children said that they would be doing either paddy farming or tusar rearing. Parents also differed in terms of their expectations that their children would be involved in jobs based on school education or domestic education in the future. Some parents said that they expected their children to be prepared for jobs based on both home and school education, as they considered that today even with a school education it was not certain that they would get jobs in government offices. However some parents pointed out that they expected their children to get jobs based in government offices as that what a school education was for. Such parents did not expect their children to continue working within the village.

In terms of methods of learning and teaching, we found that both in the domestic and school settings, certain similar methods of learning and teaching were used, but that the two educational settings differed in terms of emphasis. For example, the domestic setting emphasized learning by doing, learning and teaching in real situations, learning though the kinship network with the selective use of positive and negative reinforcements and learning according to Ho cultural traditions. The school setting emphasized learning by memorizing, learning and teaching through imagination, learning through unfamiliar persons in an impersonal environment, and learning and teaching in accordance with the established mainstream school culture. Thus a condition of polarity existed between the home and the school in terms of methods of learning and teaching. But here again the perception of the polarity of methods differed from child to child and from parent to parent. In tusar rearing, boys learned mainly by doing, while the girls learned mainly by listening. So the use of a particular method depended upon not only on the nature of the domestic task but also

upon the gender of the child involved. Furthermore the children stated that both their parents and the teachers beat them, but pointed out that parents unlike teachers based their teaching in both love and persuasion. Some children showed interest in Ho-specific activities such as drinking *handia*, dancing during festivals, while some denied having any interest in such activities. Children also differed in terms of their objection to the lack of teaching about Ho life and culture in the school.

In terms of language use, we also found a polarity between the home and the school. For example, the language medium in the domestic setting is characterized by the sole use of Ho, the use of both verbal and non-verbal means of communication, equality in terms of participation and close relationship between the Ho language and the Ho culture as practised in the village. The school, however, is characterized by the use of both Ho and Hindi, the predominant use of verbal means of communication, dominance of teachers in classroom communication and the association of the main school language with the national mainstream culture. Therefore a polarity existed between the home and the school in terms of language medium. However, while some children found the dominance of Hindi language in the school difficult to handle, the others were more ambivalent. While some parents used both verbal and non-verbal communication in their day-to-day communication with their children, others pointed out that their communication was mainly verbal. Thus, the home and school are similar but distinct sites of learning and teaching in Parampancho in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium. Within each site children and parents perceived the four dimensions of the polarity differentially.

10.4.4 The Relationship between the Polarity and the Problem of Drop-out

As mentioned above, in Parampancho we found not only a high incidence of drop-out from the village primary school, but also a striking case of polarity between the home and the school. So our next step was to explore the relationship between the two. That is, was there a relationship between the problem of drop-out from the PPS and the home and school polarity in terms of content, motivation, method and language

medium? The relationship between polarity and drop-outs was explored by comparing the perception of the polarity of a sample of drop-outs and stay-ins. That is, to what extent the drop-outs and the stay-ins were similar and different in terms of their perceptions of content, motivation, method and language medium polarity (see Chapter 9).

- The drop-out children participated actively in household tasks, such as paddy farming, tusar rearing, hunting and fishing and indigenous games and sports and complained about the lack of teaching of household activities in the school. The stay-in children on the other hand, did not participate actively in the household activities and were not keen on studying these as subject in school. Although the parents of both the drop-outs and the stay-ins supported the notion of teaching aspects of Ho life and culture in the school, they differed in terms of the degree to which they encouraged their children to participate in household activities. The parents of the drop-outs involved children in household activities to a greater degree than the parents of the stay-ins.

- While the parents of drop-outs expected their children to be prepared for occupations based on both the home and school education, the parents of stay-ins expected their children to take up occupations based purely on their school education. Like their parents, the drop-out children said that they would be continuing household occupations such as paddy farming and tusar rearing and working within the village. The stay-in children, also following parental response, pointed out that their goal was to get a job based purely on their school education.

- While, on the one hand, the drop-outs stated that they used mainly the methods of learning by doing at home and learning by memorizing in the school, the stay-ins, on the other hand, pointed out that besides using other methods, they learned by listening both at home and in the school. In response to being beaten both at home and in school, the drop-out children admitted being afraid of both parents and the teachers. The stay-in children, however, admitted being afraid of their parents but not of the teachers. So while the drop-outs did not feel any parental pressure to attend school when faced with hostile teachers, the stay-ins, nevertheless, felt a pressure to attend school and, at the same time, found the teachers amicable. Furthermore, while the drop-outs said they took an interest and were involved in drinking *handia* and dancing during the festivals, the stay-in children denied having any interest or being involved in such activities.

- Unlike the drop-outs, some stay-in children pointed out that they had some occasional opportunities to listen to the Hindi language, even at home. Furthermore, with regard to the use of means of communication, while the parents of the drop-outs (unlike the school teachers) pointed out that they used both verbal and non-verbal means in their communication with the children, the stay-in children (like the school teachers) used mainly verbal means of communication. While the drop-outs hesitated to communicate with their fathers, the stay-ins communicated in equal terms with both their parents. Furthermore while the parents of the drop-outs supported the idea of school teaching exclusively in the Ho language, the parents of the stay-ins suggested that the Hindi should be continued as the main language medium of communication in the school.

- In terms of learning difficulties in the school, in comparison with the stay-ins, the drop-outs found school subjects difficult to understand. While the drop-out children pointed out that they did not like studying about the *Diku* people in school, the stay-in children were uncertain about their likes or dislikes of the teaching of such materials. The drop-out children admitted having 'no' interest in the school studies or were uncertain about it, but the stay-ins re-iterated their keen interest in school studies.

- The drop-outs and the stay-ins participated in the home and the school educational fields differentially. For example, while the drop-outs participated actively in home educational activities but did not use their home learning experiences in the school, they did not do any school work at home and their parents on the whole were unaware of their school activities. Conversely, the stay-ins did not participate actively in the home educational activities but instead concentrated more on their school work and used some of their home learning experiences in the school. The parents of these children were aware of their school activities.

The gap between the Ho home and the school is so great that those children who adhered strongly to their home educational world and did not/could not concentrate on the school work experienced a number of learning difficulties in the school. The children who participated less actively in household activities and concentrated more on school work experienced fewer learning difficulties in the school. As discussed above, while the drop-out children belonged to the former group, the stay-in children belonged to the latter. That is, the drop-outs perceived the home and school polarity to a greater extent and experienced learning difficulties of a higher degree than the stay-ins (see Figure 10.1).

Figure 10.1

Drop-out: A Product of the Polarity

Drop-outs				**Stay-ins**
		↑		
(+)	**Maladjustment and incompetent behaviour in the classroom**			(-)
		↑		
(+)	**Learning difficulties in the school**			(-)
		↑		
(+)	**Home**	**←POLARITY→**	**School**	(-)
(+)	Content	↔	Content	(-)
(+)	Motivation	↔	Motivation	(-)
(+)	Method	↔	Method	(-)
(+)	Language	↔	Language	(-)

Note: (+) = more
(-) = less

Thus, as discussed earlier and summarized in Figure 10.1, there existed polarity between the home and the school in Parampancho in terms of content, motivation, method and language medium. But not all the children who studied in the school perceived the polarity to a similar extent. As we pointed out in Chapter 9, the drop-out children perceived the polarity to a greater extent than the stay-ins. Furthermore although the classroom observation provided examples of on-going learning difficulties and children's maladjusted and incompetent behaviour in the classroom, the interview data showed that the drop-out children experienced greater learning difficulties than the stay-ins. Therefore, the research suggests that factor underlying the children's drop-out from the school was the polarity. The superficial explanations given by children and parents for drop-out in terms of laziness and carelessness were manifestations of a more fundamental and enduring polarity. Thus, one may say that the problem of drop-out from the Parampancho Primary School is to a large extent a product of perceived polarity between the home and the school.

10.7 Significance of the Research Findings

This research has provided a detailed investigation of the key research question 'Why do some children drop-out of primary school, while others stay on to complete the course?' From the investigation it emerged that the children who dropped out of the school perceived the polarity between the home and the school to a greater extent and experienced learning difficulties of a higher degree than those children who stayed in. These findings are significant for two main reasons,

First, in most of the reports on the problem of drop-outs from the primary schools in developing countries, especially India, the economic factor has been emphasized. That is, poverty has considered as a very important factor responsible for children's drop-out from school (see Chapter 1). With the findings in this research, we have indicated that children drop-out from primary school mainly due to the their perception of the polarity and associated condition of learning difficulties in the school. By pointing to polarity as the underlying reason for the drop-out, we have also tried to emphasize the socio-economic, cultural and educational aspects of the problem. No parent in this research considered economic reasons a main factor in their children's dropping out or staying in school.

Second, the analysis of the problem of drop-outs in terms of the polarity between the home and the school as the sites of learning and teaching highlights not only the educational context of the school but also of the home. As one of the important findings of this research is analysis of the lack of continuity between the two educational poles. That is, the children who concentrate on their school learning often abstain from the domestic educational activities. So while the drop-out children show keen a interest in the domestic education but do not show the same in the school education, the stay-ins, however, show a keen interest in school education but do not show the same in domestic education.

10. 8 Questions for Further Research

There is an element of retrospection involved in this research, to the extent that, the drop-out children and their parents reflected on their perception of the school learning and teaching after having dropped out of school. Therefore we cannot determine whether or not the drop-outs and the stay-ins displayed any differences before the drop-outs dropped out. One fruitful line of future research, which would overcome this retrospective element, would be a longitudinal approach which investigates children's learning activities from the time of their entry into school to their final exit.

Furthermore, the focus on children's reflections in this research has meant that there has been more emphasis placed on analysing learning rather than teaching. Children's opinions about their home and school learning have been given more importance than teachers' and parents' opinions, which have contributed to the understanding of children's learning activities. A further insight into the issue of teaching and drop-out might be usefully achieved through a more in-depth study of teachers and classroom practices, which would complement the present research.

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APPENDIX - I

Glossary

Ading	=	the inner room where the ancestors are worshipped
Adivasi	=	the aborigines
Anader	=	marriage by intrusion
Andi	=	ceremonial marriage
Ārapai	=	silkworm rearing site
Ashram	=	a house used for educational purpose
Bā	=	festival in celebration of the spring season
Baba	=	father or an elder person
Baba Chasa	=	paddy cultivation
Baba Enga	=	mother paddy or mother spirit
Babu	=	child
Bád	=	the autumnal rice crop
Batauli	=	better harvest
Bera	=	the late rice crop
Bhartiya Adimjati Seva Sangha	=	a voluntary organisation
Bogoro	=	the fully grown silkworms
Bongaism	=	Ho tribal religion
Budi	=	knowledge or understanding
Buru	=	hill or mountain
Buru Bonga	=	spirit of a hill or mountain
Buru Lotan	=	burning of hills
Chandu	=	moon, month
Charia	=	the fourth ones
Cheka-cheki	=	indigenous children's game
Dandia	=	indigenous game
Deonra	=	shaman
Desauli	=	the village guardian spirit
Diuri	=	the village priest

Dhumkuria	=	youth dormitory among the Oraon tribe
Didi	=	vultures
Diku	=	outsider
Diku andi	=	ceremonial marriage of the Hindu type
Dongol Hato	=	Chaibasa market
Ghotul	=	youth dormitory among the Gond tribe
Gonong	=	bride-price
Gops	=	a Hindu lower caste
Gora	=	the early rice crop
Guli-Danada	=	indigenous children's game
Handia or Diang	=	the local alcoholic drink
Hat	=	market
Hatan: daru	=	tree used mainly for silkworm rearing
Hatu	=	village
Hatu Bonga	=	the village deity
Hera-mut	=	marking the beginning of sowing paddy seeds
Hero	=	marking the completion of the sowing
Ho, hor, horo	=	the people
Hurin hat	=	village Tuesday market
Jahira-Buru	=	forest spirit
Jamnama	=	festival of the partaking of new paddy crop
Jati	=	caste
Jharkhand	=	the proposed tribal state
Jojo	=	tamarind
Jom	=	to eat
Kalom	=	grain storing
Kalom Utandi	=	the completion of the grain storage
Ka:	=	crow
Killi	=	clan
Kol	=	Ho people
Kolaria	=	Ho territory
Kolhan	=	Ho tribal estate

Kuli	=	a small bag or an envelop made of leaves
Kuntia	=	a Ho clan
Larka Kols	=	the fighting Kols
Lattoo	=	indigenous children's game
Lohars	=	a Hindu lower caste
Longor Ote	=	paddy field
Lungam	=	a silkworm; a cocoon
Lungam chidu	=	a small silkworm
Lungam daru	=	tree used for silkworm rearing
Lungam hon	=	newly hatched silk moth
Lungam paiti	=	silkworm rearing task
Matrices	=	Muslim school
Madkam	=	mahua tree or flower
Maghe	=	the most important Ho annual festival
Mangala Hat	=	Tuesday weekly market
Manki	=	paramount headman
Marang Bonga	=	more important spirits or gods
Matasor	=	school teacher
Med	=	eye
Mēd	=	iron
Merom	=	goat
Morung	=	youth dormitory among the Naga tribe
Mui: a:	=	a small edible herb
Munda	=	village headman
Olparao paiti	=	reading and writing work
Oportipi	=	marriage by capture
Ote paiti	=	agricultural work
Pacca road	=	tarred road
Palas	=	a particular kind of tree
Panchayat	=	local administration at the village level
Parob	=	festival
Patani	=	the female silk moths

Pathshalas	=	school
Pir	=	an administrative of Kolhan Ho estate
Rabangnail	=	cold plough
Rabbi	=	summer crop
Ranu	=	a herbal medicine
Rajikhusi	=	marriage by mutual consent
Sadar	=	sub-division within a district
Sadom	=	horse
Sai	=	separate section of a village
Sarna dharam	=	Ho religion
Sasan	=	grave
Sasandiri	=	gravestones
Seta	=	dog
Singbonga	=	Ho supreme God
Sirma	=	sky or year
Sutui	=	shirt
Tantis	=	Hindu lower caste (weaver)
Tira	=	the male silk moths
Tols	=	the cocoons
Tuku	=	husking pole
Tunki	=	basket
Tusar	=	silkworm
Uli	=	mango
Vanyajati	=	the forest people
Varna	=	Hindu social groups

APPENDIX - II

Figure 1

Monthly Teaching Routine - 1989 (as prescribed by the Government of Bihar)

Grades	Subjects/Books	January-February	March	April	May - June	July	August	September-October	November	Notes & Explanation
Grade-I	1. Mother-tongue: *Hindi - Bal Bharti*, Part-1, a) writing, b) composition;	1. pages 2 to 19 (pictures of plants, animals and goods picture stories);	1. pages 20 to 27 (from lesson 6 to lesson 9); fairs, from fair to home;	1. pages 28 to 35 (from 10 to 13), Friends of Kamala, Let us eat;	1. pages 36 to 41 (from 14 to 16), Madan, Cows and Kamala's dolls;	1. pages 42 to 48 (from 17 to 19), Let us swing,	1. pages 49 to 58 (from 20 to 22), dancing, bear dancing, rail;	1. pages 59 to 80 (from 23 to 28), Bombay, Poem: Moon Uncle;	1. pages 81 to 85 (29th and 30th), morning, prayers;	1. writing simple sentences on blackboard and copying.
	2.Mathematics: *Navin Ganit*, Part-1;	2. pages 1 to 15	2. pages 16 to 25	2. pages 26 to 35	2. pages 36 to 51	2. pages 52 to 63	2. pages 64 to 80	2. pages 81 to 98	2. pages 99 to 100	2. regular counting from 1 to 20.
	3. Social Studies: *Hamara Nutan Samaj*, Part-1; Old stories	3.family members, relations, occupations; Siddhartha	3. village and city schools, school study; Harischandra	3. our basic needs, (foods, food items, and sources); The Wild Lion	3. Our basic needs, drinking water (rural & urban); Shrawan Kumar	3. our basic needs, clothes, types of clothes; Aruni	3. our basic needs, house, construction & benefits; Krishna- Sudama	3. festivals (rural and urban, games and sports; Arjun's archery	3. knowledge of directions and recreation;	3. consulting the social studies teachers' guide.
	4. Everyday Science: *Hamara Nutan Vigyan*, Part- 1.	4. air: in open space and closed rooms, windows and doors;	4. water: for life; sources: wells, ponds, fountains, tube-wells;	4. healthy life: cleanliness, rest, sleep, exercise, sports;	4. precautions and treatments: precautionary habits;	4. house: uses, security; clothes acc. to seasons;	4. plants; recognizing plants near school and one's house;	4. animals: life and uses;	4. Our world: directions as per the positioning of the Sun;	4. consulting the everyday science teachers' guide.
Grade-II	1. Mother-tongue: *Hindi - Bal Bharti*, Part-2; a) composition, b) writing;	1. the sun rise, big or bright, growing up; cow;	1. Shankar's dog, butterfly (poem); horse, cuckoo;	1. pigeons and the trap, goats, foxes; elephant, parrot;	1. Hallos (poem), mother said,);	1. Phoolkumari, brushing teeth; home, peacock;	1. children's balloons, seasons (poems); our school;	1.kite (poem), rain, moon uncle (poem); buffalo, own village & town;	1. *revisions of the old lessons*;	1. practice of speaking and writing, writing sentence, filling gaps.
	2. Mathematics: *Navin Ganit*, Part-2;	2. lessons 1 & 2, counting 1 to 999;	2. from 3 to 7, number lines, addition;	2. from 8 to 15, subtraction and multiplication;	2. from 16 to 18, division of numbers;	2. from 19 to 22, money: addition & subtraction;	2. from 23 to 27, multiplication and division (money);	2. from 28 to 38, measurement: (length, liquid, time);	2. practice of the lessons with various questions;	2. revision of the last year's lessons along with new lessons.
	3. Social Studies: *Hamara Nutan Samaj*, Part-2; (our needs: transport, neighbours, post-office, festivals, public life, child stories;	3. the village school, neighbours, rivers; the King Swan	3. means of transport, field, mountains; the child Mohan Das	3. food, market, post-office, ponds; people engaged in various occupations; the child Jawahar Lal	3. water, fountain, hospital, clothes; the child Rajendra Prasad	3. house, security arrangement, plants; the child Gokhale	3. village panchayat, municipality; knowledge of directions, brave child stories	3. agriculture, animal husbandry, sacred places, historical places; Jesus Christ, Lal Bahadur Shastri	3. festivals; brave child stories	3. consulting the social studies teachers' guide.
	4. Everyday Science: *Hamara Nutan Vigyan*, Part-2	4. air, human body;	4. water, food;	4. clean habits, exercises, clothes;	4. Disease prevention and cures, plants and their uses;	4. various types of insects and animals, and their harmful effects;	4. seasons;	4. advantages of the Sun;	4. Our scientists: childhood of Newton, Galelio and Elphinston	4. consulting the social studies teachers' guide.

Grade-III	1. Mother-tongue: a) *Hindi - Bhasha Sarita*, Part-1, b) essays c) letter writing, d) composition;	1. lovely India, child Bharat, cleanliness; b) cows and cats c) writing letter to father, d) correction of wrong words, sentence formation;	1. winter's sun, the coming of first child, forest talk; b) horse and oxen, c) writing letters to uncle and to friends, d) filling gaps, sentence formation;	1. the coming of Holi, Raksha Bandhan, consequences of greed; a) dogs, won school, b) writing letters to elder brothers and sisters, d) spell checking, sentence formation, synonyms;	1. one ray, tamarind versus margosa, Id festival; a) elephant, your favourite sport, b) application to the headmaster for leave, c) filling gaps, sentence formation, anonyms, gender;	1. come moon, father's letter to his daughter, the Birsa Bhagwan; a) buffalo, rainy season, b) letter to mother, c) gender, changing the forms of words, sentence formation;	1. what does the sun teach, facing tragedy, journey to Haridwar; a) own village, Independence day, b) letter to friends, c) sentence fromation, gender determination, synonyms;	1. go ahead, the brave boy, unique solution; a) fairs, the Dashahra festival, Mahatma Gandhi, b) application to the headmaster, c) synonyms, filling in the blanks, spell checks;	1. castle in the air, the farmers, Mother Teresa; a) the Diwali festival, b) the Chhatha festival; c) words transformation, anonyms, filling in the blanks;	1. Each lesson requires teaching with practice.
	2. Second Indian language:*Sanskrit-Sanskrit Parichay* Part-1;	2. prayers, lessons 1 & 2;	2. lessons 3 & 4;	2. lessons 5 & 6;	2. lessons 7 & 8;	2. lessons 9 & 10;	2. lessons 11 & 12;	2. lessons 12, 13 & 14;	2. revision of old lessons;	2. translation from Sanskrit to Hindi, spell cheking, filling in the blanks, translation from Hindi to Sanskrit.
	3. a) Mathematics: *Ganit Bodha*, Part-1; b) Geometry: *Modern Rekha Ganit*;	3. rehearsal, writing natural numbers, lessons (from 1 to 40)	3. questions on addition and subtraction, lessons (from 5 to 8)	3. questions on multiplication and division, lessons (from 9 to 12);	3. odd and even numbers, rules of exchange, identification of numbers in division, lessons (from 13 to 19)	3. indivisible and joint numbers, odd and even numbers, lessons from 20 to 22;	3. simple fraction, multiple fraction, lessons 23 & 24	3. money and currency (rupees), weight and measurement, lessons from 25 to 31;	3. measurement and time, lessons 32 & 33;	3. rehearsing the old lessons during teaching of new lessons;
	4. Social Studies: *Hamara Bihar* a) Geography, b) History: *Bihar ke Mahapurush*, c)Public Knowledge: *Bihar ke Darshaneeya Sthan*;	4. Hamara Bihar a) land and hills of Bihar, b) Janak, c) Rajgeer, Nalanda;	4. a) rivers, climate and forest in Bihar; b) Jarasandha, Gautam Buddha, c) Parasnath, Jamshedpur, Bokaro;	4. a) minerals of Bihar, agriculture in Bihar, b) Mahavir, c) Baroni, Sindiri and Balmikinagar;	4. a) irrigation and industry in Bihar, b) Shershah, c) Patna, Ranchi;	4. a) roads and railways in Bihar, b) Kunwar Singh, Birsa Bhagwan, c) Gaya, Deoghar;	4. a) sea and air routes in Bihar, the adminstrative units of Bihar; b) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, c) the Bihar administration;	4. a) food, clothes, occupations and languages, fairs and exhibitions, b) the Bihar Kesari - Dr. Sri Krishna Singh, c) institutions, co-operative committees, health centres, eucational institutions;	4. a) our fetivals, b) the Bihar Bibhuti - Dr. Anugrah Narayan Singh, c) *repetition*;	4. repetition of the old lessons; consulting the teachers' guide of social studies;
	5. Everyday Science: *Prarambhik Vigyan* Part-1;	5. human body, health, security and primary treatment;	5. house and clothes;	5. botanical lives, biology;	5. air, water and season;	5. stones, soil and minerals;	5. matters and objects, force and work;	5. our world;	5. our world;	5. repetition

Grade-IV	1. Mother-tongue: a) *Hindi - Bhasha Sarita*, part-2, b) essays, c) application and letter writing, d) grammar & composition;	1. a) children's world, the obedient Aruni, the farmer hunter, b) the Saraswati Puja, own school, your favourite animal, c) application to the headmaster, d) word, division of word, nouns, pronouns;	1. a) Himalaya (poem), grateful animal, discovery of bicycle, b) bullock cart, holi and your favourite bird, c) letter to your father for money, d) verb, adjectives, adverb, gender, action, sentence formation;	1. a) we are flowers of one garden (poem), the plough men, the prince, 'when I was reading', b) library, exercise, farmers, Dr. Rajendra Prasad; b) application to the headmaster for stationeries, c) filling in the blanks, anonyms, spell checking;	1. a) Balak Ram (poem), Sher Shah Suri, tit for tat; b) the spring season, your village, Kabaddi, your neighbour; c) letter to friends about any fair, d) word correction, differences in meaning of similar words;	1. a) children! be brave (poem), birds, Panna's sacrifice, b) mango: the king of fruits, the rainy season, description of any journey, c) letter to your younger brother about your journey; d) proper use of verbs and tense, correction of simple sentences;	1. a) we have to go ahead (poem), the Kosi dam, the Bharat Ratna-Vishwasariya, b) flood, Bhoodan, Independence day; c) letter to your mother, d) correction of words and sentences, subject-predicate division;	1. a) the rains, the Ashwamedha horse, look versus virtues, Karnawati's letter to Humayu, b) any school festival, village market, the Durga Puja, Mahatma Gandhi, c) application to the school headmaster and letter to father, d) sentence formation, filling in the blanks, correction of words;	1. a) the rainbows, Kabir, b) description of a fair, Diwali and Chhath, c) letter to your elder brother d) *rehearsal*;	;1, a) solve all the questions mentioned at the end of the lessons, b) practice at least 100 words and 15 sentences in writing essays.
	2. Second Indian Language: *Sanskrit Parichay, Part-2*;	2. India, Mahtma Gandhi: the father of the nation;	2. ideal student (letter), Ranjit Singh;	2. Shivaji, agriculture, unique sacrifice, the centre of nectar;	2. hesistancy in helping,	2. talks, the brave Chandrashekhar;	2. Sukti (story), kindness;	2. Mahatma Buddha: the real education, national songs;	2. *repetition*;	2. translation from Sanskrit to Hindi and from Hindi to Sanskrit (poems and prose);
	3. Mathematcs: *Ganit Bodha*, Part-2, a) Arithmatic, b) geometry *(Rekhaganit)*;	3. rehearsal of old lessons, a) common and whole numbers, lessons from 1 to 3; b) a dot, horizontal line,	3. whole numbers, the lowest and the highest common numbers, lessons from 4 to 6; b) angle: definition and measurement;	3. fraction, addition , subtraction and multiplication of numbers, lessons from 7 to 10; b) making and measurement of angle;	3. division of fractions, uses of signs of fractions, introduction to fraction decimals, lessons from 11 to 13; b) open and close shapes;	3. addition and subtraction of decimal fractions, lessons 14 & 15; b) circle;	3. meter system, Indian currency, lessons 16 & 17; b) day to day geometry	3. measurement of time and space, area of squares and rectangulars, lessons from 18 to 20; b) angles, triangles and quatriangles;	3. measurement of cubes, lesson 21 and various questions; b) repetition;	3. *repetition*.
	4. Social Studies: *Hamara Bharat*; a) Geography, b) History, c) Public knowledge;	4. a) our earth, the land of India, the Himalay mountain, b) our historical persons: the great king Ashoka, Shankaracharya, c) unity in diversity;	4. a) northen India, Indian deserts, the plateau areas, b) Amir Khusro, Akbar, c) music and dance, handicrafts;	4. a) seaside land, Indian climate, b) Shivaji, Guru Govind Singh, c) our national festival: the Independence Day;	4. a) Indian forests and minerals, b) our freedom struggle: Raja Rammohun Roy, Lokmanya Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi, c) the Republic day, Gandhi's birthday;	4. a) Indian agriculture and irrigation, b) Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, c) festivals and fairs: Kumbha Mela and Rath Yatra;	4. a) Indian industries, b) Subhash Chandra Bose, Jay Prakash Narayan, Khudiram Bose, Bhagat Singh c) Harihar fair, Ganga-Sagar fair;	4. a) Indian transport: our roads, rails, aeroplanes, b) Chandra Shekhar Azad; tourist places: Azanta, Ellora, Mahabalipuram, Delhi and Jaipur; c) the Urs of Ajmer, Guru Nanak's birthday, Onam;	4. a) Indian trade, b) Varanasi, Shimala, Utakamand, symbols of national unity; c) Pongal, Bakrid, Easter	4. telling the names of leaders and officials of the country;
	5. Everyday Science: *Prarambhik Vigyan*, Part-2;	5. human body, health, security, and primary treatment;	5. housing and clothes;	5. living and dead objects;	5. Botanical world;	5. Biological science;	5. air, water, and seasons;	5. stones, soils and minerals; work and energy;	5. our world - *repetition*,	5. practice solving questions at the end of lessons.
	6. Art: *Rekha Chitravali, Aao Chitrakala Seekhein*, Part-1;	6. *rehearsal of lessons taught last year*, the national flag;	6. a hoe, a saw, a mango fruit;	6. colour photo of the sunrise; scissors, a beaker;	6. a weeding instrument (khurpi), Jai Hind in extra large	6. Charkha (a spinning wheel), the sunset;	6. mountains, clouds, moon, stars, hard and soft colours;	6. own design, decoration of doors, a water pot;	6. colour mixture, making objects of colour paper;	6. *repetition*.

Grade-V	1. Mother-tongue: *Bhasha Sarita*, Part-3 a) essays, b) letter writing, c) grammar & composition;	1. prayers, the successor of the Mahatma, Savitri; a) the Spring festival, your favourite bird, the Republic day; b) application to the school headmaster for economic hardship grants, letters to your parents about progress in your study, c) nouns and pronouns, subject and predicate, sentence formation;	1. the girls' songs, flowers of mountain, Sikkim; a) devotion to the teachers, football, the Holi festival, your class (grade) teacher; b) letters to your brothers, sisters and friends, application to the B.D.O for the supply of public goods, c) verbs, tense, sentence formation;	1. health is life, the brave Kunwar Singh, the victory of non-violence; a) village market, the school garden, your village; b) application to the B.D.O. for the supply of sugar on the occasion of marriage; c) composition of sentence, numbers and persons;	1. the Chitaranjan factory, childhood play, Ashok's denounciation of weapons; a) importance of exercise, advantages and disadvantages of cinema, mango - the king of fruits, the rainy season; b) letters to your friends on various topics; c) proverbs, words correction, one for many (words);	1. Guru Nanak, the wish of fowers (poem), Maulana Majahrul Haq, the Sarhul festival; a) the Indian farmers, the rickshaw pullers, paddy farming; b) letters to your father about school activities; c) from noun to adjecitves, from adjective to nouns;	1. the light festival, the Netarahat school, the Id festival, do some work; a) flood, the Independence day, Tulsidas, Mrs. Indira Gandhi; b) letters to your younger brother, unity is strength; c) opposite words, filling in the blanks;	1. Rajendra Prasad, the scrifice of a deer, pen or sword; a) the Durga festival, your school, library; b) application to the Panchayat heads (Mukhia and Sarpanch) to solve problems of your village; c) words similar in form but different in meaning, sentence correction, rules of correction;	1. discipline, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Doha- dasak (poem), Mahatma Gandhi; a) Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Diwali festival, your favourite sport; b) letters to your friends about any social event of national importance; c) uses of Karak (action) divisions, uses of 'ne' with subject (karta);	1. a) solving and practicing a number of times questions at the end of the lessons; b) in essay writing, each essay should be of at least 20 msentences.
	2. Second Indian Language: *Sanskrit- Sanskrit Pravesh:*, Part-1;	2. prayers, Dasarth's distress, talks (vartalap);	2. the festivals, the forest travel, vacation;	2. poems (Sukt:), rights and duties;	2. the story of Vark Karkat, goodwishes;	2. India, eyes (poem), stars, good words;	2. fexible human nature, Ramayan, house;	2. memorable songs, truth wins everwhere; human body;	2. songs;	2. translation from Sanskrit to Hindi, correction, sentence composition, filling in the blanks, translation from Hindi to Sanskrit.
	3. Mathematics: *Ganit Bodha*, Part-3, a) Arithematic, b) Geometry;	3. a) *rehearsal of old lessons*, common and whole numbers, the arithmatic rules, lessons from 1 to 3; b) rehearsal, a dot, horizontal line, angle;	3. a) ratio and proportion, lessons from 4 to 7; b) angles and fifferent types of ange: small, large, simple, joint;	3. a) definite numbers (fraction and fraction decimals), lessons from 8 to 11; b) knowledge of different geomeric tools in making angles;	3. a) definite numbers (fraction and fraction decimals), lessons from 11 to 16; b) maing various types with the tools;	3. a) percentage, loss and gains, simple interest, lessons from 17 to 23; b) dividing line by scales, making identical angles;	3. a) squares and squareroots, area, measurement of a recangular solid, lessons 24 & 25; b) dividing line by scale and compas, making identical angles;	3. a) lessons from 24 to 27; b) drawing vertical line over a horizontal line,	3. a) average, uses different measurement systems, lessons 28 & 29; b) dividing angles by the geometric tools, making angles, making circle;	3. *rehearsal of lessons.*
	4. Social Studies: Hamara Sansar a) geography, b) History, c) Public Life;	4. a) our earth, the earth and its from, stones, different forms of water and land, seas and continents; b) the history of scripts, the history of numbers, the history of currency; c) state governments;	4. a) latitudes and longitudes, our neighbours: Nepal, Bhutan, China, Pakistan; b) the great discoverers: Marcopolo, Columbus; c) the central government;	4. a) our neighbours: Afghanistan, Bangaladesh, Burma, Srilanka; b) James Cook, David Lavingstone; c) fundamental rights and duties of a citizen;	4. a) the equatorial region, the Savana, the deserts, the monsoon region; b) great scientists: Galelio, Newton, Einstein; c) the Directive Principles of State Policy;	4. a) the monsoon region; b) Indian scientists (ancient): Charak, Aryabhatta, Varahmihir, Bhaskaracharya; c) national wealth and national security (contd.);	4. a) Islands, tundra region, the natural Bihar; b) Indian scientis (modern): Jagdishchandra Bose, C.V. Raman, H.J. Bhabha; c) national wealth and national security (end);	4. a) the crops of Bihar, irrigation, forests, fairs and markets; b) the great world thinkers: Sukurat, Jesus Christ, Hazrat Mohammad, Ibrahim Lincon; c) India and the U.N.O (contd.);	4. a) the languages of Bihar, sacred places, food, industry, transport, archaelogical remains, freedom movement and Bihar; b) Karl Marx, Lenin and Gandhi; c) India and the U.N.O (end);	4. introducing children to the names of the contemporary leaders, officials, dates of national importance.
	5. Everyday Science: *Vigyan Lok*, Part-3,	5. human body, health, security and primary treatment;	5. house and clothes;	5. living and dead objects;	5. the botanical world;	5. the biological world;	5. air, water and season;	5. stones, soils and minerals;	5. our world;	5. solving questions at the end of lessons.
	6. Art: *Rekha Chitravali, Chalo Chitra Banayein, Part-2*,	6. umbrella, bucket, box, pitch, water pot, bouquet;	6. book, ink-pot, pen, burner, tea-pot, water pot, scissors;	6. basket, hoe, chair, table, sickle, knife, cucumber, cauliflower;	6. clouds, the fool moon, ducks in a pond, tomato, brinjal;	6. boats in a river, hat, a farmer, a house, the pot maker, mango, guava, apple;	6. spinning wheel, banana, a red chilli, a tractor, a man with with cap;	6. a man beating drum, variopus designs of decoration, book covers;	6. the dsign of a greeting card, decoration according to festivals;	6. *repeating* lessons.